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THE
HISTORY OF VARTAN,
AND OF
THE BATTLE OF THE ARMENIANS:
CONTAINING AN
ACCOUNT OF THE RELIGIOUS WARS
BETWEEN THE
PERSIANS AND ARMENIANS;
BY
ELISÆUS,
BISHOP OF THE AMADUNIANS.

TRANSLATED FROM THE ARMENIAN

Karl Neumann
BY
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P R E F A C E .

THE history of the civilization and literature of all nations stands in close connexion with their religious views, and with the history of the church to which they belong : nay, in most nations civilization and literature are merely a development of the most influential principles of the national church. Hence, in all times and in all countries, new religions have aimed at the overthrow of the previously existing civilization ; and have sought to assimilate themselves to whatever, in its intimate connexion with the essential or fortuitous relations of the people and the country, defied all attempts at eradication. To this general law, prescribed by the duty of self-preservation, and exemplified in the history of all parts of the world, Christianity not only forms no exception, but, on the contrary, we can, in the history of the Christian church, more clearly than in that of any other creed, point out and define its operation.

Wherever the new religion succeeded in introducing itself, it immediately endeavoured to tear up, root and branch, the previous beliefs and superstitions, together with the mental cultivation thereto appertaining. Those roots, however, that were too firmly fixed in the soil to be eradicated, and resisted all attempts at their destruction, were skillfully combined with the newly-planted tree. If we listen to the curators

of the new plantation, nothing but thorns and thistles were produced prior to the weeding; or, what is still worse, there was no trace of life whatever. By such assertions they contradict themselves. "Our forefathers were barbarians," says the Christian Armenian writer, Moses of Khorene; "careless about their fame in succeeding generations, they spent their unprofitable lives in contention and strife." Yet the same historian relates much concerning the care, evinced by the Parthian rulers of Armenia, for the preservation of the history of their own family and the previous dynasties: and we further know through him, that the learned Syrian, Bardesanes, and others, compiled from the archives of the temple of Ani, a history of the surrounding nations. Moses narrates several circumstances concerning Vakhharsh, the son of Dikran; and then adds (*Hist. of Armenia*, II. 66), "This is related to us by Bardadsan of Edessa, a distinguished writer of the time of Antoninus the younger. (161, A. C.) He at first attached himself to the followers of Valentinian, but afterwards separated from him, and formed a sect of his own. In his history, however, he relates nothing untrue, for he was a very impartial man. He put forth a public epistle against Antoninus: and wrote much against the sect of Marcion, and against the worship of fate and of false gods in our country. He came here, that he might convert the blind heathens. Not succeeding in this, he retired to the fortress Ani,* where he read the histories of the temples, in which the acts of the kings are also related. To these he added whatever further information he possessed,

* "This is not the famous city of Armenia in the province of Ararat, the ruins of which now lie near a river flowing into the Araxes, at Akharan, but is the modern *Zamakh* on the Euphrates. *Zamakh* was formerly called Ani." *Inchichean, Old Armenia*, p. 9.

This remarkable passage on Bardesanes was unknown to *Hahn*, who, in 1819, published a little work, called *Bardesanes Gnosticus*.

“ possessed, and translated the whole into Syriac. Of this history, a
“ Greek version was subsequently made.”

Well might the Christian priests, Moses and his friends, feel but little satisfaction at the accounts furnished by the servants of Ormisd, or Aramasd, as the God of the Armenians was called. Well might they, like Esfik, endeavour to cast the creeds and superstitions of their heathenish ancestors into oblivion, and only relate so much of them, as was deemed indispensable for their refutation. The whole of the literature of the sons of Haïk, which had grown out of the religion of the Parsi, and was intimately connected with the particular customs and peculiar superstitions of the Armenian people, was annihilated: only what they thought themselves able to disprove was transmitted to posterity, by the followers of the new doctrine, and all other written monuments, relative to Paganism, were given to the flames. The existing cultivation and literature of Armenia is, consequently, entirely Christian, and but very rarely the faded lustre of a former civilization is seen, gleaming from ages long since past away.

The Armenians are the first nation which, as such, were converted to Christianity. Tiridates the great (in Armenian, *Dertad*, i. e. the given of God) and a large portion of the Armenian people, as early as the year 302 of our era,* received baptism from the Parthian prince, Gregory *the Enlightener*. This Apostle of Armenia was instructed in the Christian doctrine at Cæsarea in Cappadocia, and consecrated Pastor of the newly converted country, about the year 312 of our era,† by Leontius, Bishop of that city, who signed the decree

* Stilling by his computation makes it 305 or 306. *Acta Sanctorum*, 30th September 312. I have followed Chamchcan.

† Leontius mentions Gregory in the discourse *De patribus Nicæna Synodi*, ap. Lipomann. VI. 116. Stilling, l. c. 313.

decree of the Council of Nice. Gregory was one of the most distinguished men of Oriental Christendom. Devoted, heart and soul, to the new light, he endured all imaginable sufferings for the doctrine of Christ, and evinced an inventive spirit in all earthly means by which the heavenly plant might be made the more securely to thrive. At his command and that of the king, schools were established in which the children, especially those of heathen priests, were instructed in the new doctrine and in the Greek and Syriac languages. The Heathen priests, themselves, were chosen by preference, as teachers of the Word of God, and were left in possession of all the advantages attached to Heathen observances, and all the emoluments accruing from Heathen ceremonies. The Heathen altars were overthrown, and in their stead, and on their sites, Christian temples were erected. The first Christian Church in Armenia was raised at Ashdishad, or Hashdishad, in the province of Duroperan, on the very spot where formerly a statue of Hercules had stood. This most ancient Christian temple of the country is, therefore, called *the Mother Church*.*

The sons and successors of Saint Gregory, (since 332,) were either wanting in the courage and firmness of the original founder, or were less favoured by circumstances. Heathenism again appeared in many provinces of the country, and an entire century elapsed before Sahag the great, and Mesrob† and his disciples, were able to suppress the original faith of their ancestors. And even they, as we shall hereafter have occasion to remark, seem not to have wholly effaced every vestige of the ancient religion from the memory of the inhabitants.

Some monuments of the language and literature of Armenia, of an earlier date than the epoch called by the Armenians that of *the holy translators*, have been preserved. Several homilies by St. Gregory remain,

* Inchichean, *Old Armenia*, p. 95. Chamchean, *History of Armenia*, I. 627, in Armenian.

† Chamchean, l. c. 647.

remain, which were printed at Constantinople in the year 1737, under the title *Hachakhabadum* (Stromata); and various prayers in the Armenian breviary, as also thirty canons, are ascribed to him. The authenticity of these last is, however, doubted even by the native historians. Contemporary with Gregory, lived Jacob of Nisibis, whose homilies were, to all appearance, first translated from Syriac into Armenian, in the fifth century. Jacob was a relation of Gregory, and in Armenia he bears the surname of *Eskon*, the wise. Of these homilies there are three different editions. The best is that of 1756, printed at Rome, with a Latin translation, and Cardinal Antonelli's annotations. A copy of this edition is found in the collection of Greek Fathers: and an impression of the text only was published at Constantinople in 1824.

(Tirac)
The History of the ancient province Daron, which, according to tradition, was peopled by the sons of Noah, was printed at Constantinople, in 1779. This work is ascribed to a contemporary of Gregory, *Zenob Klag*, and dates from somewhere about the fourth century of our era.*

Unlimited credit is due to the historical part of the life of St. Gregory, written by the Greek Agathangelos, Chancellor of King Tiridates. Of the authenticity and credibility of this work I have spoken elsewhere more at large, and can here only refer to that inquiry.† Another Armenian historian, prior to Sahag the Great and Mesrob, is Faustus of Byzantium, also a Greek. It is highly probable that the Armenian history of Faustus was also extant in the Greek language, and, on account of the numerous details which it contains, it is far more important than the work of Agathangelos, for the history of the national progress in civilization. Faustus, in his work, writes concerning himself

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* *Somal Quadro della Storia letteraria di Armenia*, S. 12. *Inchichean*, *Old Armenia*, p. 89, sqq.

† *Memoire sur la vie et les ouvrages de David*, par C. F. Neumann. Paris, 1829. 8vo.

and his brother, that "they were Greeks by descent, and he himself "a Bishop." His history, which consists of four books, is quoted even by Procopius. It is remarkable that it begins with "the third "book." Whether two books of his own have been lost, or whether Faustus has only continued the work of a former historian, has never been determined.

The Parthians, as is well known, cherished a strong predilection for Grecian manners and learning: hence, during their dynasty, it was the custom to visit the schools of Athens and other Greek cities, in the same manner that, towards the close of the middle ages, men from all parts of Europe repaired to Italy and Paris, to perfect themselves in the sciences. Gregory the Enlightener, in the panegyrick of Barsh Ardsanagan, which is ascribed to him, and is still extant, says that he became acquainted with this saint at Athens, where at that time many of the Armenian youth were studying.* The Armenian youth, studying at Athens, had their own principal; who, in the time of the Emperor Julian, was the celebrated orator Proæresius, a native Armenian.† Sahag and Mesrob sent their most talented pupils to Greece, "to the mother and nurse of all knowledge," to use an expression of Moses of Khorene. In so doing, however, they had by no means a purely scientific object, but were most anxious to form good translators from the Greek, who might translate the holy scriptures (which had first been done from Syriac into Armenian), and the Greek Fathers into their native language. But the disciples of Mesrob were not content with mere translations: they all, more or less, became authors; and with them, strictly speaking, *the first epoch* of the Christian literature of Armenia begins. From the return of the disciples of Sahag the great, and Mesrob from Athens, Constantinople, Alexandria,

* Chamchean, I. 776.

† Eunapii Vit. Soph., I. 68. Ed. Boissonade.

Alexandria, and Edessa, about 434, and the composition of the Armenian alphabet by Mesrob, about 406, may be dated this most ancient epoch of Armenian literature. Here we must especially mention *Moses of Khorene*, *Lazarus of Barb*, *Esnik of Golpe*, *Goriun*, the biographer of Mesrob,* *Mambre*, and *Elisæus*, the author of the History of the religious wars between the Persians and Armenians, of which I now present a translation to the public. It is, however, in no degree hereby intended to affirm, that no information is contained in the Armenian historians, concerning the periods prior to the fifth century: on the contrary, it may be confidently stated, that the history of the Parthian kingdom can only be elucidated from Armenian sources. By a mere translation of Moses of Khorene but little help was afforded: he, more than any other author, required a detailed geographical, historical, and critical elucidation; and Gibbon had sufficient ground for complaint, when saying that, with these confusing sketches, he could come at nothing clear.†

While the spiritual strength of the Armenian nation, and with it the Christian belief, continued progressively strengthening itself, their political power declined to a mere shadow of what it had been. The branch of the Arsacides, which after the fall of the Parthian Shahinshah (226, A. C.) had ruled in Armenia, owed its brief and troubled existence solely to the reciprocal enmity and jealousy of the Byzantine Greek and Persico-Sassanide kingdoms. But the Armenian kings knew not, like the House of Savoy, in modern history, how to profit by this state of things. At the court of the feeble, and, both physically and morally, degraded successors of the Arsacides, who had

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* The History of Armenia by Lazarus of Barb, Venice, 1793, quotes this writer.

† Gibbon's History, &c., Ch. 15, No. 178.

once contended with Rome, now Greece and now Persia obtained preponderating influence, without, however, any increase or security of dominion, accruing to the Khosros and Artashirs. No less censurable was the conduct of the Byzantine court. Without reference to the duty owed by Byzantium to a neighbouring Christian state, her own advantage required that she should support the independence of the Armenian kingdom and strengthen its power; for, was not Armenia the strongest bulwark against all attempts at conquest on the part of the Sassanides? But of this the emperors and their councillors appear not to have thought: they applied themselves to the crushing of heresies in their kingdom, and spent their time in gravely deliberating in council, about the ridiculous dreamings of half-crazy anchorites. Who can peruse without indignation and scorn, the account of the proceeding of the Byzantine court, as given in the following work of Elisæus? Thus it came to pass, that after its nominal kings had long sunk into mere deputies of Sapor and Yasgerd, Armenia at last, in 428 of our era, ceased to retain even the name of a nation. A small part, Upper, or Lesser Armenia, fell to the share of Byzantium; while the far larger and more important provinces of Lower, or Greater Armenia, were joined to the kingdom of the Sassanides.

In the Western Asiatic kingdoms we may remark, at one time, an exclusively Oriental tendency; at another, one favourable to Grecian views. The old Persian dynasties, however, appear to have been in a close and confidential political alliance with India, and to have decidedly opposed Western influence and the introduction of Grecian manners into their empire. A change took place with the conquest of Alexander the Great, and with the dynasties arising out of the ruins of his kingdom. Not to mention the original Greek ruling families in Syria and Bactria, even the Scythian Parthians were favourable to
Greek

Greek customs and literature. With the house of Sassan, however, a re-action begins against the Western principle: the ancient Persian civilization, which had long been in part suppressed, and in part had declined, arose again with renewed energy, and was of necessity opposed with all its force to the new doctrine of Christianity, coming as it did from the West and from Greece. Two churches, those of Christ and of Zoroaster, stand in mutual enmity, threatening each other's destruction; and between them a war, partly open, partly secret, is carried on. The history of the machinations and battles which took place during a short period, are described in the following work of Elisæus, a contemporary of the circumstances related by him.

The history of this religious war has been given by several Syrian and Armenian writers: and among the Greek authors also, sacred and profane, some fragments and unconnected accounts are to be met with on this subject. But the Armenians possess historical writers who have almost exclusively occupied themselves with the narration of this struggle, so highly interesting, as regards the religious history of mankind. They describe the occurrences of their time without, as it appears, the slightest mutual knowledge of each other's works. Nevertheless they perfectly agree in the principal, and, for the greater part, also in the subordinate circumstances: excepting that one may attach more importance to this fact, and another to that, as they respectively deem them deserving of it. A considerable advantage is the result of this to us: as we are thereby enabled to compare the statements of different contemporary writers, and make them serve to their mutual completion. Goriun, the Xenophon of Armenian literature, breaks off, in his yet unprinted life of Mesrob, at the precise point where Elisæus begins; so does also Moses of Khorene. The last chapter of the general
c history

history of Armenia contains a lament of the venerable Moses, deeply grieving over the misfortunes of his country. In the last but one, the death of Sahag the Great, and of Mesrob is related; it begins with the following words :

“ After Varram II. had reigned twenty-one years over the Persians,
 “ he died (in 439) and left the government to his son, Yasgerd II.
 “ This prince, immediately on his accession, violated the peace, and
 “ proceeded in person against the Greek forces which were quartered
 “ near Midspin (Nisibis), and gave the army in Aderbichan orders
 “ to invade our country. They accordingly came, committed divers
 “ excesses, and encamped near the *city of Idols* (i. e. Pakuan in the
 “ province of Ararat).”

At the end of this chapter, Moses adds, that Joseph, a disciple of Mesrob, was his successor in the patriarchal dignity. Joseph was a native of Hokhozim or Khokhozim, in the Vale of Misery, a canton in the province Sunik. With the year of Joseph's elevation to the rank of Katholikos of Armenia (that is, with the year 441 of our era) Doctor Elisæus opens the following historical work : yet, I have no where discovered any trace that Elisæus knew the existence of the history of the Khoreneian.

Elisæus, as has been above stated, was a disciple of Sahag and Mesrob. He was also secretary to the Armenian General *Vartan*, of the house of the Mamigonians, a grandson of Sahag the Great. At the same time, or what is more probable, after he had resigned his office under Vartan, he was Bishop of the canton Arakadsoden, in the province of Ararat. The bishops of this diocese were, usually, called after the princely house of the province, *Amadunians* ; as was also Elisæus, who designates himself by this name; among the members of the Synod of Artashad, in 450. A most important, though
 yet

yet unprinted Armenian historian of the ninth century, who has been erroneously supposed to have been a disciple of Elisæus, Thomas Ardsruni, tells us that Elisæus, in his old age, withdrew to the canton Ershedunik, in the province Vasburagan, on the shore of the Wan-sea, where he died at a very advanced age.* Besides his historical work now before us, Elisæus wrote exegetical illustrations of Joshua, of the book of Judges, of the fourth book of Kings, and of the Lord's Prayer, together with numerous sermons. These spiritual works of the Bishop of the Amadunians are, as far as I know, yet unprinted. At the end of the last edition of his historical work, which appeared at St. Lazaro, near Venice, is a panegyric on the monastic life, containing many interesting historical notices.

The History of Vartan and of the Battle of the Armenians, as the work of Elisæus is called, was printed as early as the year 1764 at Constantinople, where, in 1823, a second edition appeared, with some extracts, relating thereto, from Thomas Ardsruni; and in 1828 a more critical edition, in duodecimo, was published at St. Lazaro. At the end of this last edition, is found the above-mentioned panegyric on the monastic life, from p. 363 to 368. Not only the two Constantinople editions were consulted for this latter, but also six manuscripts, of which the three principal were written in the years 1120, 1146, and 1207. The latter, according to a notice found in the Codex itself, is a faithful transcript of a copy written A. D. 616. Although this edition leaves much to be desired in a critical point of view, still it far surpasses its predecessors, and has, therefore, been selected as the basis of the following translation. Elisæus, as we learn from his dedication to the priest David, had divided his *History of Vartan and of the Battle of the Armenians* into seven chapters. In the work,

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* Inchichean, *Old-Armenia*, p. 164, 438.

as at present existing, there is no visible chasm, though, in all the manuscripts, the fifth chapter is wanting. Hence the editor of the earliest edition divided the sixth chapter into two parts, in which he was followed by subsequent editors; and this occasions those chapters being so small, in comparison with the others. But whether a chapter be really wanting, and of what nature its contents were, it is now difficult to decide. The manuscript of Elisæus appears in other parts to have been mutilated designedly, and to these mutilations attention is directed in the notes to the present translation. The diligent Chamchean has also given some indications of a similar kind (II. 464). If a chapter has been really destroyed by the copyists of the Doctor's manuscript, we may be confident that it had some reference to the Christian Church and its doctrines. Elisæus, we learn from a notice by Thomas Ardsruni, was in some relation with the celebrated adherent of Nestor, the Syrian Bardsumay, and on this account, his views may have appeared suspicious to the orthodox clergy of the succeeding period. The passage of Thomas Ardsruni, faithfully translated, runs as follows:*

“ In the time of King Peroses II, who reigned from 459 to 483,
 “ there was one of the adherents of Nestor, named Bardsumay, who
 “ styled himself a Bishop, and undertook to strengthen the Nestorian
 “ schism. He accused the Armenian princes of treason against
 “ Peroses, and occasioned much misery and bloodshed.

“ In those days, Kristapor I. (475-480), Katholikos of Armenia,
 “ filled the glorious seat of Saint Gregory. He wrote an Epistle
 “ to the Assyrian provinces, warning them against mixing themselves
 “ with the Nestorians. He sent a similar epistle to the Orthodox
 “ Churches

* It is found at the end of the edition of Elisæus, printed at Constantinople in 1823, p. 216, sqq.

“ Churches of Khushasdan,* as also to the provinces of Tershan,†
 “ to the inhabitants of Khakhdazor,‡ to the Princes of the country and
 “ to the Bishops. By deceitful arts, Bardsumay obtained possession
 “ of this epistle, sent it to the King of Kings, and wrote to him
 “ as follows: ‘ All that the Katholikos of Armenia hath written,
 “ ‘ tends to excite a rebellion against thee, and to bring the Arme-
 “ ‘ nian Princes under the dominion of the Greek Emperor;—see,
 “ ‘ therefore, now what is to be done.’ To show that he himself
 “ was guiltless, Bardsumay in person proceeded to Arsnarsin|| in
 “ the land of the Magi, and, sought to sow the seeds of the Nes-
 “ torian heresy there. At this time our holy Vartabed, Elisæus,
 “ had taken up his abode in the land of the Magi; and to him
 “ Bardsumay repaired, and begged for the history of the Armenians,
 “ which Elisæus had written at the command of St. Vartan: and
 “ his request was granted.”

This account of Thomas Ardsruni is of great interest. Through it, the accounts of the Syrian writers concerning the scandalous conduct of Bardsumay (Assemani, *Bibl. Orient.* iii. 2. 78) are fully authenticated; and we learn therefrom, that Elisæus, at the command of Vartan, whose exploits he has described in the present work, had also prepared a general history of Armenia. The history of the battle of the Armenians cannot possibly have been meant, since he could not have written this at the command of Vartan, as we know, from the dedication to the Priest David, that this latter induced him to undertake

* Chusistan or Churistan, the *Land of the Sun*, a chief province of the Persian kingdom, the Sugiana of the ancients. Wahl *Vorder-und Mittel Asien*, p. 597.

† This canton of the province of Upper-Armenia has still the same name and its former boundaries. *Inchichean, Old-Armenia*, p. 24.

‡ *Inchichean*, who quotes this passage from Thomas, supposed that this place must have been situated in the neighbourhood of Tershan. *Old-Armenia*, p. 620.

|| Probably the city Ardashir, on the banks of the Tigris. *Assemani, Bibl. Orient.* iii. 2. 722.

undertake it. "The history of Vartan and of the Battle of the " Armenians" is as distinct from the history of Armenia, whereof we read in Thomas Ardsruni, as from the Martyrology, which all the editors of Elisæus have appended to the history of Vartan, and have, singularly enough, entitled as follows: "An Eighth Chapter beside " the Seventh, still on the same Battle, and on the Sufferings of " the Priests." Does not Elisæus himself declare in the dedication to the Priest David, that his history would conclude with the account of the battle lost by the Armenians, and a representation of the anarchy consequent thereon? The editors have, then, joined two works entirely different. According to the explanation given above, Elisæus commences his history with the accession of Yasgerd II. in the year 439 of our era, and enters more into detail with the election of Joseph to be Katholikos in 441. He represents the designs of the Magi and of the persecuting court; describes the nature of the war undertaken by the king, and quotes the proclamations issued by him throughout all parts of his kingdom. He inquires into the circumstances under which the *Holy League* of the Armenian princes and bishops was formed against the measures of the Persian Court, and concludes with the fatal battle fought on the banks of the Dekhmud, in June 451 of our era. The ringleaders of the Holy League, and most of the bishops, were led prisoners into Persia, and were followed by the princes, of their own accord. A great and solemn court was held, and the Armenian Margrave, Vasag, was condemned to death. With this great act of the vengeful Nemesis, Elisæus ends his picture, the design and execution of which are truly dramatic. That he here concludes, is manifest from his own words at the close of the seventh chapter: "I have written down these recollections," he says, "that all may profit by the fate of Vasag, and avoid his lawless " conduct."

“conduct.” The description of the humiliations and persecutions to which the Armenian priests and princes were subjected in Persia, forms a small work by itself, to which we shall have occasion to refer when translating Lazarus of Barb. On the present occasion, we only submit to the learned world a translation of the larger and far more important work. With the exception of some most interesting notices relative to the creed of Zoroaster, nothing is contained in the Martyrology which entitles it to translation; for I contend that nothing should be transferred from one language to another, save that, from which some new facts, or something worthy of remark for the history of the human mind, may be obtained. Hence, in translating the Mohammedan historians, all biblical narrations, and rabbinical and Arabic tales, should be omitted; as should also, in the Christian authors, all spiritual treatises and homilies, *which are not requisite for characterizing the period, or the author*. This rule has been pursued in the present work.

My opinion of the historical works of Elisæus is supported by the Armenian chronicler of the tenth century, the learned Asolnik. This writer, in the first book of his hitherto unprinted work, after he has treated of the Greek chroniclers and historians, turns his attention to those of Armenia, and thus continues:

“First appears the excellent Agathangelos, who relates the singular miracles and sufferings of St. Gregory, and our conversion to the true faith: After him, the great Moses, who, like Eusebius, was styled the founder or father of literature: next we see the Vartabed Ekhishe, or Elisæus, *who has written of Vartan, and of the sufferings and death of the sacred priests*; the learned history of Lazarus of Barb, and Faustus, or Busant.”* Asolnik here speaks of the works of Elisæus

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* This passage is printed in Armenian, in Aucher's Armenian and English Grammar, Venice, 1812, p. 293.

as of two entirely distinct; and such they certainly are. It is worthy of remark, that throughout the middle ages, the province of Sunik was a principal seat of Armenian literature and science, and John Bluss, of the city Erissa or Essenga, of the canton of the same name in Upper Armenia, a celebrated writer of the thirteenth century, is regarded by the native scholars as the last of their classical writers.*

Even the general fact, that exclusively religious wars were carried on in the fifth century, between the Armenians and Persians, was hitherto very partially known: and, of course, the peculiar circumstances, the proclamations, embassies, and negociations of which our author treats were nearly unknown. Saint Martin, in his copious work on Armenia, has indeed touched on this interesting epoch, and translated the proclamation of the Grand Vizier, relative to the creed of Zoroaster. The influence exercised by the Parsis may be clearly traced in many of the Christian sects in the fifth century of our era; and, in Armenia, visible marks of the stubborn religion of Zoroaster are found, long after the fall of the Sassanide dynasty. The followers of Zoroaster, called 'sons or servants of the Sun' by the Armenian writers of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, withdrew for the greater part to the borders of Armenia, towards Mesopotamia. This worship of the Sun and of the Elements mixed itself with Christian views, and thence divers heresies arose. Nerses, surnamed *the pleasing* (+1173), expressly says, that the servants of the Sun, among the Armenians, were the same with the Paulicians among the Greeks. From 1166 to 1173, Nerses was invested with the dignity of Katholikos of all Armenia, and he spared no pains to eradicate this last remnant of the religion of Zoroaster in Armenia. His endeavours appear to have been successful, for after his time no
further

* • Inchicéan, *Old-Armenia*, 17.240. A very useful compendium of the history of Armenian literature has lately appeared at St. Lazaro, *Quadro della Storia letteraria di Armenia*. St. Lazaro, 1829. 8vo.

further traces are found in Armenian history of the servants of the sun. But would not an attentive and enlightened observer discover some traces of it in that country even now?*

The historical literature of Armenia is particularly important, since by it we are, in many cases, enabled to complete and correct the information furnished by the Byzantine historians. How defective and erroneous are their accounts of Armenia and Persia! Theophanes, Evagrius, Procopius, and others, confound persons and events; as, for instance, the Kings Yasgerd I., Varram II., and Yasgerd II., and the various persecutions of the Christians which took place in their reigns. They are even silent on circumstances with which they must certainly have been acquainted; merely because such circumstances reflected shame on the Byzantine Court, or on Christians generally. Thus, the Persians twice required the surrender of their fugitive Christian subjects: once under Varram II., and the second time under Yasgerd II. The first time Theodosius the younger refused them, at the instigation of the patriarch Atticus; and, in consequence, became engaged in a war with Varram. This glorious proceeding is related at length by Socrates (vii. 18), Procopius (Pers. 12), Agathias, Theophanes, Cedrenus, and some others (Tillemont, *Histoire des Empereurs*, vi. 7.). On the second occasion, Theodosius complied with the wish of the Sassanides, as we learn from Elisæus; but of this, not the slightest mention is made in any Byzantine writer, sacred or profane. Some other instances of this kind I have adduced in the notes. The best work, which was extant in the fifth century on the subject of the circumstances and relations of Armenia, was in all probability translated from the Armenian language. This is the treatise of an anonymous writer, which Cambefis has printed in the *Historia Hæresis*

Mono-

* Chamchean, I. 765, 798.

Monothelitarum, but which is very defective in a chronological point of view. The following passage relates to the period described by Elisæus. Τοῦ οὖν μακαρίου καὶ ἁγίου Ισαάκ (Sahag the Great) τελευτήσαντος, τοῦ χρόνου τῆς ζωῆς αὐτοῦ, τῷ ρί ἔτει μετέστη πρὸς κύριον διαδέχεται τὸν θρόνον τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς τῇ τούτου προστάζει ὁ Ἰωσήφ οὗ τῷ ιβ' ἐξητήθῃ ἡ πυρσόλατρεία παρὰ τοῦ Ἐξηνέρτ (*sic*) εἰς τὴν Ἀρμενίαν, τῷ λζ' ἔτει τοῦ μικροῦ Θεοδοσίου. (Cambefis l. c. 273. D.) These chronological data are throughout incorrect, as the holy Mesrob succeeded Sahag, with the surname *Mashdoz*.

In the same proportion that the accounts of the Byzantines lose, by a comparison with those of the Armenians, the Mohammedan, Persian, and Arabian historians, gain. There have been, and still are critics, who refuse to acknowledge the authority of Mirkhond and Tabari, on the subject of Mohammed. Their views, founded on merely personal considerations, must give way before the light which shines on us from the Armenian historians of the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries. The history of the Sassanides given by the Armenians, and that by the modern Persians, agree in their principal features, throughout. It is true that, occasionally, they bear the distinction of national colouring; that to one historian this, and to another that particular event, seems worthy of being transmitted to posterity. If then, the modern Persian accounts, concerning the times of the Sassanides, are thus restored to their true value, so also should the information they contain on the history of Western Asia be rescued from the unmerited contempt wherewith they have hitherto been treated.

As regards the translation of the following work, I may observe, that if it has not cost so much labour as that encountered by the brothers Whiston, in their version of Moses Khorensis, yet industry and perseverance were requisite in translating Elisæus. Difficulties of a quite

quite peculiar nature are presented by the Armenian language; as will be readily believed when I mention, that the words are arranged, not as the course of thought might require, but as they best suit each other with regard to euphony. The Armenian authors of the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries, were formed in the schools of prostrate Greece. There they acquired all the forms of writing, known under the names of rhetorical figures, antitheses, inversions, and parentheses, and transferred them to the Armenian language; thus doing no little injury to the clearness and easy flow of the language. A diligent study of the stiff and cramped Greek sophist, Eunapius, is the best preparative for the perusal of many of the Armenian authors, who, in their imitations of foreign peculiarities of language, acted most capriciously, and without any regard to the laws of their mother-tongue. They even wished to introduce a definite article, and a dual number, into their language.* Besides this, modern Armenian scholars distinguish three several sorts of style: *the common, the intermediate, and the elevated*. The first is principally confined to the conversational language. Of this style examples are found in the lives of the Fathers, in the Prayer-books, in the historical portion of the Holy Scriptures, and in the letters of Nerses Lambro-nazi. Examples of the second kind are furnished in the proverbs of Solomon, the Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistles of St. Paul. Esnik, Elisæus, Mambre, Johannes Philosophus, Gregory Magistros, and Nerses Shnorhali, are also writers in this style. Specimens of the lofty style are contained in the books of the Maccabees, the Epistles of Peter, Agathangelos, Moses of Khorene, David the philosopher, and the Sermons and Prayers of Gregory Naregazi, written about the 10th century.

The

* Awedikean's great Armenian Grammar, p. 241, No. 1.

The second volume of the history of the religious wars between the Persians and Armenians will contain the history of Lazarus Barbezi, which includes the period from the decline of the Arsacide kingdom in Armenia, till the Margravate of Vahan, the Mamigonian, from 428 to 485. In the notes to that volume will be given such passages from the Martyrology of Elisæus, as are interesting and worthy of translation.

DEDICATION.

TO THE PRIEST DAVID, OF THE HOUSE OF THE MAMIGONIANS.⁽¹⁾

THE history, oh excellent father, which thou hast requested, I have composed. Behold, in the following seven chapters, I have, at thy command, described the battle of the Armenians, wherein so many, in so extraordinary a manner, distinguished themselves. The first, gives a review of the times; the second, describes the events in the kingdom, towards the East;⁽²⁾ the third, the union in defense of the faith of the church (the holy league); the fourth, the falling away of some few from this belief; the fifth, the insurrection in the land towards the East; the sixth, the resistance of the Armenians in battle; and the seventh, the long disturbance of all social relations in consequence of their defeat.

In these seven chapters, I have, with the greatest care, arranged the beginning, the middle, and the end, and have laid the whole before thee, that thou mayest peruse it continuously,—that thou mayest comprehend the valiant exploits of the brave, and the misery which followed. This history will, indeed, supply no void in worldly knowledge; but it may give a foretaste of the heavenly government,—it may reward us with the gift of prophecy, and through that which is clear, make manifest what is dark.

But thou, oh excellent father, in the wisdom of God, wouldst thou order any thing, save that whereto thou art inspired from on high? To thee, and to me,

and to those who are instructed in wisdom, this, whatever may have been said by some distinguished historians, serves as a token of heavenly love, and not as one of the vain-glories of this world. Concord is the mother of good ; and Dissension, the nurse of evil ; therefore, in holy love, we have conformed ourselves to thy command. We delayed not, neither were we discouraged through our ignorance. A pure will may accomplish much ; it remedieth inability, as prayer supplieth the place of knowledge, and as holy love doth compensate the want of every qualification.

When we received the commission from thee, we immediately described every thing in love, to the comfort of friends, to the hope of the hopeful, and to the encouragement of the brave, that they, with a steadfast will, may rise superior to death, when they behold the victorious general, who never contemned a foe, but evermore developed his unbounded power. Whosoever wills, may prove himself a valiant hero : but as the term valiant comprehends a very manifold meaning, so may we believe that this manifold blessing is shed above all on him alone, whom we know to have cherished holy charity in his unspotted heart. Such purity announces a connexion with heaven, which we have seen in thee, and, seeing it, have forgotten our own nature. Behold we arise, and with thee we soar above the attraction of terrene objects, and imbibing pure celestial influences, we announce the doctrine of the redemption of the soul, and of the glorification of the all-conquering church. Then let all holy believers so arrange their affairs, that all may tend to the glory of the Father, and that the Holy Trinity, in its unchangeable essence, may rejoice with him.

THE
HISTORY OF VARTAN,

&c. &c.

CHAPTER I.

A REVIEW OF THE TIMES.

ALTHOUGH we have but little satisfaction in deploring the misfortunes of our country, yet, at the command of your Eminence, we will begin, where it is fit to begin. Truly, not of our own free will, do we describe, in lamenting tones, all the miseries of which we ourselves have been eye-witnesses.

After the fall of the Arsacides, the family of Sassan, the Persian,^(*) ruled over the land of the Armenians.^(*) They ruled their kingdom according to the doctrines of the Magi,^(*) and inflicted much oppression on all who lived not conformably to that belief. This oppression commenced under king Arshag (who reigned from 363 to 381), the son of Diran, and grandson of Dertad,^(*) and thenceforward there was continual strife, till the sixth year of king Artash, the son of Sdahrashapuh.^(*) On the deposition of this sovereign, the government fell into the hands of the Armenian princes, and whenever the hordes of the Persian king made inroads on the country, the knightly band of the Armenians assembled under their leaders, and hastened to give the invaders battle; for the fear of God was great and firmly established into the land of the Armenians. This state of things continued, from the accession of the King of kings, Shapu, till the second year of the King of kings, Yasgerd, the son of Varram.^(*) Yasgerd belonged to the accomplices of Satan; he sent forth his accumulated venom, and offered it as a useful and deceptive remedy. And the horn of iniquity began to sound, and the mighty cloud of dust spread over all the four quarters of the earth. The hater and adversary of all believers in Christ appeared: he persecuted and tortured

A.D. 428.

A.D. 440.

A.D. 440. tortured the Christians, and took from them their guiltless lives; for his delight was in desolation and bloodshed, wherefore he constantly thought how he might fully vent the bitterness of his venom, and whither he might shoot the multitude of his arrows. With immoderate fury he fell, like a wild beast, on the country of the Greeks, pressed on as far as the city of Midspin,⁽⁹⁾ laid waste sundry provinces of the Romans, and after pulling down the churches, dragged the booty and prisoners after him, filling all the troops in the land with fear and trembling.

A.D. 441. Now the excellent Emperor Theodosius (the younger), being a great lover of peace in Christ, would not give battle to the enemy, but sent his general for the East,⁽¹⁰⁾ Anatolius by name, to meet him with much treasure. Those Persians who, by reason of their Christian belief, had fled and found refuge in the imperial city,⁽¹¹⁾ were assembled and delivered into the hands of the king; and all things, by him required, were acceded to. By this submission he was prevailed upon to stay his further progress, and to return to his city Dispon⁽¹²⁾ (Ctesiphon on the Tigris, opposite to Seleucia).⁽¹³⁾

As fire increases by the addition of fuel, so began the unbelieving prince to meditate something further, when he saw that his iniquity was successful. Knowing now that he was secure, and that all danger of opposition was removed, he proceeded to turn all from the holy faith; some with mere threats, others with dungeons and chains. If any one died under persecution, he seized on his property, personal and real, and acted in all things with the grossest injustice. He suspended misery over the whole land. He called his officers of state together, in council; and all those who were attached to idolatry by indissoluble bonds, burned like a flaming furnace against the belief of the holy church.*

The Magi said: "Valiant King! the gods have given thee empire and victory: they require no corporeal homage; but, look to it, that all tribes and nations of thy kingdom be brought under one law, after which thou wilt also subject the land of the Greeks to thy belief. Gird thyself then, oh! king, on this exhortation; gather together an army, and equip thy troops, and set out against the land of the Kushanians.⁽¹⁴⁾ Assemble all the tribes and lead them without delay within the Gates of the Watch,⁽¹⁵⁾ and set up thy tent even there. Shouldst thou hold them all fast in a distant foreign land, then wilt thou attain the object of thy wishes. Shouldst thou glorify us in our faith,⁽¹⁶⁾ then wilt thou rule over the land of the Kushanians, especially as the Greeks will make no inroad into thy territory: only exterminate the sect of the Christians."

To the king, and to all the nobles who assisted at the council, this advice appeared

* Here some spiritual reflections are passed over.

appeared excellent. Orders were prepared, and messengers dispatched to all parts of the kingdom; and this is a copy of the order:— A.D. 441.

“To all people of my kingdom, Arians and non-Arians,⁽¹⁷⁾ to you all greeting from my benevolence. May it be well with you, and may it be well with us, by the help of the gods.

“Without in any way injuring you, we went forth and arrived in the land of the Greeks, and without warfare, by kindness only, we subjected the whole country. Be ye of good cheer, and rejoice unboundedly. Now receive ye the word which we are about to announce to you. We have formed an unchangeable resolution to break forth from the land towards the East, and, by the help of the gods, to bring back the Kushanians under our rule. You will regard this as an order: you will immediately, and without delay, assemble round me your horsemen, that you may proceed with me to the province of Abar.”⁽¹⁸⁾

Now this proclamation came into the land of the Armenians, of the Georgians, of the Albanians,⁽¹⁹⁾ of the Liphenians,⁽²⁰⁾ of the Dsotians,⁽²¹⁾ of the Gortusians,⁽²²⁾ of the Akhznians,⁽²³⁾ and in to many other provinces which in former times were not obliged to join in these expeditions. In Great Armenia,⁽²⁴⁾ an army of nobles, of the sons of nobles, and of free men of the royal house,⁽²⁵⁾ was enrolled; one was also raised in Georgia, in the land of the Liphenians, and the other southern provinces, as far as the boundary of Dadjgabdan;⁽²⁶⁾ armies also came from the land of the Romans,⁽²⁷⁾ of the Gortusians, of the Kutians,⁽²⁸⁾ of the Dsotians and of the Akhznians. All these believed in the one catholic and apostolic church.⁽²⁹⁾ A.D. 442.

These, in their innocence, suspected not the artful design of the king: they cheerfully hastened, each from his province, with unwearied earnestness and obedient minds, furnished with all the requisites for war. Together with them went also many deacons, and yet more priests, with their gospels in their hands. Yet the proclamation was not designed as the messenger of life, but as the announcement of death: soul and body were both to be destroyed together. None of these nations had the slightest idea of the king's intent, and they marvelled much that the Grecian army had fled before him. They were obedient to the sacred precept of God, and continually mindful of the lesson of Paul (Ephes. vi. 58). “Be obedient servants to your earthly masters; be not opposed to them, but show them homage; serve them in love, as though you were serving God and not man: for the Lord will reward you for all your pains.” Well reflecting hereon, they arose and left their country, and thinking of the Holy Spirit, they assembled, and were anxious to comply with the king's command

A.D. 442. command, and in all things to do his will. The king rejoiced greatly that his pleasure was thus fulfilled, and proceeded to do with them, as he had been advised by the adherents of unbelief.

When the king saw this whole muster, and the numerous troops of the several nations which had cheerfully hastened to his service, he manifested his joy thereat before the nobles and the entire host. He concealed his design, and though his heart was turned from them, he did them extraordinary honour. He now gladly set out and proceeded against the kingdom of the Huns, who are called Kushanians,⁽⁸⁰⁾ but was unable, in a space of two years, to bring them to an engagement, or to subdue them. After this time had passed away, he sent each body of troops back to its own province, and in their stead summoned others, equipped like themselves. In these customary arrangements, year after year was spent, and he then laid siege to a city. These expeditions began in the fourth

A.D. 444.

A.D. 450. and continued till the eleventh year of his reign.

When the king saw that the Romans remained true to the treaty which they had concluded with him; that the Khailenturk⁽⁸¹⁾ had discontinued their attacks on the watch of Djoraz; that peace reigned throughout all his dominions; that the king of the Huns, notwithstanding the devastation of some of his provinces, remained shut up in his strong holds, and that thus every thing was prospering under his government, he sent the joyful tidings to all the fire-temples⁽⁸²⁾ in his kingdom: he brought fat oxen and long-haired animals in numbers to the holy fire,⁽⁸³⁾ as a burnt offering, and was besides incessantly employed in performing his impure idolatry. He honoured the Magi, more particularly the Mogbeds,⁽⁸⁴⁾ with crowns and other marks of distinction. He then issued an order for depriving the Christians of the goods and property which they possessed in Persia.

Pride and arrogance had arisen to such a height in his soul, that he thought himself elevated above human nature; and this, not only with reference to his person in corporeal conflict, but he also held himself as something greater than what he could be, according to his paternal origin. Agreeably to superstition, he hypocritically gave it out that it had been discovered by the wise, that he was to be placed in the rank of the immortals: wherefore, he uttered great reproaches against Christ, when he understood that the Lord had been tortured and crucified, that he died and was buried.

As the king daily boasted in so foolish a spirit, a noble youth one day directed his speech to him, and said: "Excellent king, whence know you these words which you utter against our Lord?" The king answered and said, "I have read the books of your heresy." The youth replied, "Well was it for thee, oh king!"

“ oh king! to be permitted to read thus far. But continue still farther, and A.D. 450.
“ thou wilt hear of the resurrection, of the appearance before the eyes of all,
“ and of the ascension into heaven. You will hear of his seat at the right-hand
“ of the Father; of what he said after the second appearance; of the miraculous
“ awakening (of Lazarus) in the presence of all; in a word, of the reward of the
“ just Judge.” When the king heard this he continued to scoff, and said,
“ This is mere deception.” Whereupon the soldier of Christ replied, “ If thou
“ takest as true his bodily sufferings and death, so must thou yet more believe
“ in his terrible coming.”

Having heard these words, the king burnt like the fire in the glowing furnace of Babylon, for his friends stirred him as the fire was stirred by the Chaldees. His ungovernable rage devoured the excellent youth, whose name was Karkh. Bound hand and foot, he was delivered to the executioner^(a) for torture. The king afterwards deprived him of his rank, and had him slain.

CHAPTER II.

EVENTS IN THE COUNTRY TOWARDS THE EAST.

A.D. 450. **WHEN*** the Christians who were in the army perceived that the fire which had faintly burnt in concealment was kindled into flame, and threatened devastation to the hills and plains, they also burned with an unquenchable fire, and boldly armed themselves against the attempts of secret machination. They sung with a loud voice psalms and other spiritual songs; and for the general instruction they performed in the public camp, and without fear, the service of God, and, undismayed by the ignorant, cheerfully taught all who came to them. And the Lord appeared favourable to them by signs and miracles: for all the sick recovered in the army of the infidels.

When the unbelieving prince saw that his artful purpose had become known, and that the fire had burst forth before his breath had blown it; when he observed that his design was manifest to those who feared the Lord, his evil spirit began to wound with secret darts, aiming at the incurable injury of the soul as well as of the body. Now he hissed and coiled himself like a poisonous serpent; now he rose and roared like a blood-thirsty lion. Undecided as to the means whereby his design might be effected, he by turns adopted and rejected many. He was unable to bring all the Christians at one time within his power, and to secure them, since they were not all assembled at once in the same place; wherefore, he first separated the common people from the nobles, the contemptible from the honoured, the cowards from the brave,—and what others might not be further adduced? In a word, all the undeserving he distinguished, and the deserving he rejected, so that even father and son were severed from each other.

While he dealt thus unjustly with every Christian nation, he persecuted the Armenians more than all, for they were the most zealous in the service of God. The princes of Armenia were especially stedfast in their attachment to the holy doctrines of the apostles and prophets. Yet, notwithstanding this, some even among them were seduced by gold and silver and divers other presents, others by villages and market towns; these, by posts of honour and great power, those, by empty expectations; and thus he, without intermission, seduced and drew them

* I have here omitted several spiritual reflections.

them to himself. "Oh that you," said he, "would but receive the doctrine of the Magi into your souls! Oh that you would but exchange the heresy of your souls, for the true and excellent laws of our gods! In greatness and distinction you would then stand equal to my own nobles, nay, I would even exalt you still higher." A.D. 450.

By such hypocrisy he demeaned himself graciously to all, and spake kindly to them, that he might, in conformity with his original purpose, make them captives through deception. And this mode of proceeding lasted from the fourth to the eleventh year of his reign.

Observing, however, that nothing was gained by these his secret machinations, (on the contrary, that they had rather an opposite effect, for he saw that Christianity grew daily stronger, and spread itself through all parts of the distant countries through which he passed), he became wrathful, sullen, and troubled in soul. He was constrained to reveal his secret intention, and, with a loud voice, he commanded and said: "All people and tongues throughout my dominions must abandon their heresies, worship the sun, bring to him their offerings, and call him god; they shall feed the holy fire, and fulfil all the other ordinances of the Magi." So said he, and the herald proclaimed the order before a large assembly, and imprecated curses on the uncomplying. Messengers were sent to all the distant tribes, and to all the same command was given.

At the beginning of the twelfth year of his reign he assembled an innumerable army, and entered the land of Idakhia.⁽¹⁾ When the king of the Kushanians heard this, he ventured not to meet the Persians in battle; but took flight to inaccessible wildernesses, and thus escaped, together with his whole army. Hereupon, the king of the Persians sent troops into all the provinces and places of the Kushanians, and gave them up to plunder. He seized all the fortresses and cities, made a multitude of prisoners, and bore away the booty and spoil to his kingdom. After this expedition he continued in the same design of making the laws of his misbelief,—the worship of licentiousness, the ruling faith. How can I, thought he to himself, otherwise shew my gratitude to our gods for this great triumph, which is such, that no one dares to meet me in battle.

At this time the Magi and heathen priests also raised their voices and said,—
 "The gods, who have given to thee empire and victory over thine enemies,
 require no other signs of homage from thee than that thou shouldst banish all
 human heresies, and again make the observances of the Ssaratashdian mission
 the ruling one."⁽²⁾ This speech found great favour before the king and the nobles, and above all, before those who were the enemies of the faith; and after they had proffered their counsel, the following plan was adopted. They held the host of the Armenians, Georgians, Albanians, and all those who were attached
 to

A.D. 450. to the holy faith of Christ, closely confined within the Gates of the Watch, and gave the guards orders to let all those pass who should come to them from the East, but no one from the West to the East.

When they were thus hemmed in, and, as it were, confined in a cage, (and, literally environed so that flight or escape was utterly impossible, enemies dwelling all around), then force was used with them; they were all persecuted with great pains and various tortures, that they might be constrained to deny the true God, and to abjure him openly. But the army were generally inspired by a good spirit; they simultaneously, and with great strength, raised their voices and said: "We call heaven and earth to witness, that we have never been wanting in our duty to the king; that we have never acted as dastards; and that pitiless misfortune falls on us unmeritedly." This wailing resounded on every side, and reached even to the ears of the king, who was an eye-witness of this unjust proceeding. Then took he an oath and said: "I will never set you free till you, conformably to the order, fulfil my request." And then the sovereign commanded his pitiless servants that they should prove by torture the steadfastness of four noble warriors. At first he tormented them in every way, and then he cast them chained into prison. Others also, at the same time, were put to the torture by his command, and the prisoners were variously persecuted. All this he did at the suggestion of Satan.

On the thirteenth day (of the imprisonment) he gave orders for the preparation of an evening banquet, more sumptuous than ordinary, and invited all the warriors of the Christian belief. As they were all seated there, he was unusually gracious towards them, and spoke with them kindly as before, that he might prevail on them to eat of the flesh of victims, of which the Christians are not permitted to eat. As, however, they of one accord opposed this, he pressed them not, but ordered that their usual food should be set before them. He drank deeply of wine, and let the revelry run high at the banquet.⁽⁹⁾ But when the king had returned to his palace, some of the Christians were cast into bondage, strictly watched, and held in close confinement. Some of them were kept two, some even three days in prison. They were also unworthily treated in sundry other ways, which we will not here relate. Many of them, also, were then deprived of their noble rank.

From the most distant provinces great multitude of Christians again assembled to attack the enemies of the king in inaccessible wildernesses, and then many were devoured by the sword. The appointed pay of all was diminished; they were tormented by hunger and thirst, sent to the worst places for winter quarters, and they all presented a mournful and pitiable appearance.* The worst of all, however,

* Here some spiritual reflections have been omitted.

however, was another wickedly conceived device. The king sent one of his faithful servants, named Tenshapuh, as governor to the land of the Armenians. Tenschapuh set out and arrived in the land, according to the order of his sovereign. In the name of the great monarch he delivered, greeting, and with hypocritical benevolence, he announced a poll-tax for all the land of Armenia, in consideration of which, freedom from all other taxes and liberation from martial service was promised.⁽⁶⁾ A.D. 450.

To all appearance this was favourably intended, but evil designs were concealed. He first changed the freedom of the church into slavery; secondly, he subjected the hermits and monks to the poll-tax; thirdly, he increased the taxes; and, fourthly, he by slander arrayed the first families against each other, and established disorder in every house. All this he did with a view to destroying unity and undermining the faith of the church, that he might banish the hermits and sow dissension among the inhabitants, that they might, to escape from insupportable misery, adopt the doctrine of the Magi. But his most execrable act was, that he, by calumny, effected the removal of the lieutenant, who governed over all the inhabitants and over all Christians like a father. In his stead, a Persian was appointed; also a Mogbed was made judge in the country; so that the importance of the church was much diminished.

Now, notwithstanding that all these transactions were very hard, and the exactions extremely oppressive, yet no one opposed him on that account, so long as nothing was openly undertaken against the church. When, according to law, a hundred might be taken, double that sum was extorted from the priests, and threefold from the bishops; and this not only on edifices in good repair, but also on ruins.⁽⁶⁾ Who could relate all the extortions which were endured in imposts and payments; in the division and separation of hills, plains, and woods? The officers conducted themselves not as became the officers of a king, but plundered like corsairs, so that they themselves wondered how, in a country whence all these treasures flowed, a village could yet be left standing. When, however, it was seen that all this could not depress the population, the priests and high-priests of Zoroaster publicly prepared an order, and put forth a proclamation concerning their iniquitous religion. The following is a copy of this proclamation:—

“ Mihrnerseh, Grand Vizier of Iran and Daniran, to the Armenians abundant greeting:⁽⁷⁾

“ Know, that all men who dwell under heaven and hold not the belief of the Mastesens,⁽⁸⁾ are deaf and blind, and betrayed by the devil-serpent;⁽⁹⁾ for, before the heavens and the earth were,⁽¹⁰⁾ the great god Zruan⁽¹¹⁾ prayed a thousand years, and said: ‘ If I, perhaps, should have a son, named Vormist, who
“ ‘ will

A.D. 450. “ ‘ will make the heavens and the earth.’ And he conceived two in his body,
 “ one by reason of his prayer, and the other because he said *perhaps*. When he
 “ knew that there were two in his body, he said : ‘ Whichever shall come first,
 “ ‘ to him will I give over my sovereignty.’ He, who had been conceived in
 “ doubt, passed through his body and went forth. To him spake Zruan : ‘ Who
 “ ‘ art thou ?’ He said : ‘ I am thy son Vormist.’ To him said Zruan : ‘ My
 “ ‘ son is light and fragrant breathing ; thou art dark and of evil disposition.’
 “ As this appeared to his son exceeding harsh, he gave him the empire for
 “ a thousand years.

“ When the other son was born to him, he called him Vormist. He then took
 “ the empire from Ahrmen, gave it to Vormist, and said to him : ‘ Till now I
 “ ‘ have prayed to thee ; now thou must pray to me.’ And Vormist made
 “ heaven and earth ; Ahrmen, on the contrary, brought forth evil ; and thus
 “ they divided themselves among creatures, the angels are of Vormist and the
 “ devils of Ahrmen : All good, in heaven and here below, is from Vormist ; all
 “ evil, which is done here and there, is produced by Ahrmen. And thus, what-
 “ ever is good on this earth, this has Vormist made ; and whatever is not good,
 “ that has Ahrmen made : as for example, Vormist has made men ; Ahrmen has
 “ made sorrows, sufferings, and death ; all misfortunes and mournful events which
 “ occur, as also lamentable wars, are the work of the evil being ; as fortunate
 “ events, riches, fame, honour, and health of body, beauty of countenance,
 “ eloquence in speech, and length of years, all have their being from good ; but
 “ all, which is not so, is the corrupt working of evil.⁽¹³⁾

“ And all men err who say that God made death, that evil and good are from
 “ the same source ; but, above all, the Christians err, who say that God was made
 “ angry, because man had eaten a fig from a particular tree ; that God thereupon
 “ made death, and cast men into this misery ; such rage never moves man against
 “ man, how much less God against men ? Whoso saith this, is deaf and blind,
 “ and betrayed by the devil-serpent. And another error is when they say,
 “ God, who made heaven and earth, appeared in the world and was born of a
 “ woman, whose name was Mary, and whose spouse was called Joseph. After-
 “ wards many people were deceived by this man. The land of the Romans,
 “ with great folly, adopted this error and abandoned our perfect faith, by their
 “ own fault, to the injury of their souls.⁽¹⁴⁾ And ye, wherefore have ye, after
 “ them,⁽¹⁴⁾ become fettered in the same error ? But be mindful, that
 “ whatsoever faith your sovereign holds, the same must you also receive ;
 “ especially for this reason, that we have to render an account of you to God.⁽¹⁵⁾
 “ Believe not your superiors whom you call Nadsareans,⁽¹⁶⁾ for they are very
 “ treacherous, teaching you well in words, but in fact, they can take nothing
 “ on

“ on themselves. ‘To eat flesh,’ say they, ‘is no sin,’ and they themselves will eat none. According to them ‘It is becoming to take a wife,’ and they themselves will never look on one. ‘Whoso heapeth up treasures,’ say they, ‘commits a grievous sin.’ They praise poverty more than wealth; they praise misfortune and despise fortune; they scoff at fate and make a jest of fame; they love plainness of apparel, and laud the undeserving above the celebrated; they praise death and despise life; they scorn the generative power of man and eulogize sterility. Were every man to give ear to them, and not cherish his wife, the end of the world would shortly follow.

“ But I will not by writing enumerate all in detail, for there are indeed many (strange) things which they say in their scriptures. Can any thing be worse than what they have there written down? God was fixed on a cross by men, they exclaim; the same God died and was buried, and then rose again and ascended into heaven. Would it be worthy of you to submit such unseemly doctrines to investigation? The devils, who are evil, cannot be forcibly imprisoned and tortured by man; how much less God, the creator of all beings? In you it is folly to say this, but to us such words are utterly incredible.

“ Two ways are now before you; either that you write, word for word, an answer to this epistle; or that, like men, you repair to the court and be present at the great assembly.”⁽¹⁾

THE NAMES OF THE BISHOPS WHO ANSWERED THE EPISTLE

Joseph, Bishop of Airarat.

Sahag, Bishop of Daron.

Mekhed, Bishop of Manasgerd.

Esnag, Bishop of Bakrewant.

Surmag, Bishop of Bessnun.

Dashar, Bishop of Daik.

Thathig, Bishop of Basen.

Kahu, Bishop of Duruperan.

Eremia, Bishop of Martasdan.

Eulal, Bishop of Martakh.

Ananias, Bishop of Suenik.

Mushag, Bishop of the Ardsrunians.

Sahag, Bishop of the Reshdunians.

Basil, Bishop of Mog.

Kak, Bishop of Vanant.

Ekhifshe (Elisæus), Bishop of the Amadunians.

Ekhpair, Bishop of the Antzievazians.

Eremia, Bishop of the Apahunians.⁽¹⁾

A.D. 450. All these bishops, many choir bishops,^(*) and venerable priests, stedfast, and of one accord in the holy faith of the church, assembled together at the royal seat in the city of Ardashad,⁽¹⁾ and, at the desire of the most distinguished princes and of the whole population of the country, they wrote the following answer :—

“ Joseph, Bishop, together with all that are of the same mind, from the great to the little; to Mihrnerseh, the Grand Vizier of the Arians and Anarians, greeting, from all in a peace-loving spirit, to thee, and to all the great ones of the Arians.

“ From our forefathers we have a custom, founded on the divine command, of putting up prayers for the life of the king, and to pray to God without ceasing for his long life, that he may in peace preserve his worldly dominion, which has been entrusted to him by God, and that we also, during a long peace, may spend our lives in health and in the fear of God. As regards the epistle sent by thee into our country, we call to mind that in former times one of the Mogbeds, who was very learned in your doctrine, and whom you held to be something more than man, did believe in the God of life, the creator of heaven and earth, and that he disproved and annihilated every position of your doctrine. It being found that nothing could be done against him by reasoning, he was stoned by King Vormist.⁽²⁾ Shouldst thou be now really wishful to know our principles,⁽³⁾ his books are to be found in all parts of your country: read, and learn from them.

“ In regard to our belief, however, it is in none of its relations unknown. Its announcement extends not only to one kingdom, but is spread over the whole earth, on sea and on land, and in the islands; not alone in the West, but also in the East, in the North and in the South, and in the intermediate regions, every place is filled by it.⁽⁴⁾ Not through the protection of man, not by the higher powers has it been propagated here below, but our faith has its support in itself. Not by us humble men was the great doctrine⁽⁵⁾ made manifest to other communities, but by Him who from the high celestial seat, prescribed the unerring doctrine; not through any mediator, for there is only one God, and nothing (or no one) but through him, neither an elder or a younger.⁽⁶⁾

“ Nothing whatever that has a beginning is God; but he is through himself eternal; not bounded by space, for he himself is space; not from any time, for all time has from him its existence. He is not only elder than the heavens, but elder also than the thoughts in the souls of men and angels. Not only can man not perceive him by corporeal view, not only can he not be reached by the gaze of the eye, nor be touched by the hand, but he cannot be adequately conceived by the spirit of any creature, not only of mortals but even of the immortal angels.

“ But

“ But he will be known to his elect in the spirit, but not by the eyes ; not by the worldly-minded, but by them who live in God and faithfully believe. A.D. 450.

“ His name is the Creator of heaven and earth ; and truly he was before heaven and earth, for he is self-existent, self-named. He is independent of all time, and creatures had their being when he would ; not from anything, but from nothing, for he alone is anything, and all else hath from him its being. Not after things were made did he first know them, but before they were made by him, and in an incomplete state, he saw through all creatures. Even as now, before anything good or evil is undertaken by man, all unperformed acts of men are known to God ; so also he knew the uncreated ere it existed, and not as in a chaos, but arranged and separate, lay before him the kinds of men and of angels, and of all appearances which were to appear. Although omnipotence is the creator, yet its goodness could not bridle our wickedness. As it was from the beginning, so have we now a Judge at the right hand of the creator. The hands which founded heaven and earth are the same which wrote on the tables of stone, and have given us the book in which the laws of peace and redemption are contained, in order that we might know that one God is the creator of the visible and invisible ; not a good and an evil, but one, and one also throughout good. But you think that among the creatures of God there is also evil. Well, speak, and shew to us the perfect good. You call the devils evil ; but there are also good devils, which you and we call angels.” It is found that devils are good, and it is found that angels are evil. This is found even among men ; so that, of sons begotten by the same father, one follows his father and is obedient, while the other is worse than Satan ; nay, one man is in himself a twofold being, now good and now evil. He who of late was good becomes evil ; and having so become, he turns again to good, and yet is his nature one and the same.

“ With regard to what you say of God having made death by means of a fig, (reflect) whether a piece of parchment be not less than a fig, and yet the punishment of death overtakes him who tears it, if the command of the king be inscribed thereon. Is the king to blame for this ? By no means ! I say not so ; but I have only adduced this as an example to teach others thereby. God was incensed, because he had expressly prohibited the eating from that particular tree. He beforehand took to himself his own, and the peculiar sympathy of his love showed itself in him ; but when man became unworthy, the scourge of death overtook him.

“ But with reference to what you say, that God was born of a woman, (reflect) that you can neither withdraw nor escape from this. For behold, Ahrmen and Vormist were born of a father, and not of a mother ; and how-

A.D. 450. “ ever deeply you may ponder on this, you will never comprehend it, which is
 “ by far more ridiculous than the other. The god Mihrvard was born of a
 “ woman; and if so, some one must have cherished his mother^(*). But thou
 “ hast only slightly touched on the incarnation of our Lord: bring it forward
 “ as a point of dispute, for I know that, in this case as in many others, thou art
 “ well instructed. Thou hast not treated at sufficient length concerning the
 “ birth of our Lord from the Holy Virgin, but hast said more of the creation of
 “ the world out of nothing. Know, that greater than this is the final redemp-
 “ tion: attribute the error of man to his freedom, and his returning from
 “ freedom into service to the goodness of God.

“ If thou comprehendest that God made the whole world out of nothing,
 “ know also that he called creatures into existence by his word; and as God created
 “ this great body without evil, so he had, as a father, compassion for him. As
 “ he himself is spotless, so also he made his creature without fault. But as
 “ this latter stumbled of his own free will, sinned, and was no longer in a
 “ state to raise himself again, and to regain a steadfast footing (for he is of
 “ dust), God effected it through himself, and restored his creature to his original
 “ nature. In the same manner as any one who commits evil, not from want of
 “ strength, but simply because he, by his own negligence, was inattentive to the
 “ law, is subjected to punishment; so also man was punished by death, which
 “ he had drawn on himself.

“ Now let us examine the phrase, ‘the evil God has created death.’ Is death
 “ anything or nothing? It destroys only the good creatures of God. Now if this
 “ be so, these cannot be called good, but imperfect and perishable: but the God
 “ whose creatures are frail and corruptible cannot be called an incorruptible
 “ God. Now, then, give up your senselessness! There cannot be two rulers
 “ of one world, nor two gods of one creature. Would not the land be plundered
 “ and the kingdom overthrown, should two kings pretend to rule over one
 “ country?

“ The world is material, and all material beings are mutually opposed to each
 “ other. The creator of these thus opposed, is One who leads them in love to
 “ mildness (harmony). As the heat of the flame, softened by cooling air,
 “ becometh pleasing, so also does the insupportable rawness of the air, through
 “ the warmth of the flame: as the fine dust of the earth becomes thickened by
 “ the moisture of water, so does the fluid water become thickened by the casting
 “ in of earth.

“ Now, since the elements thus unite together, some one out of ignorance
 “ might conceive that they were the perfect God; he might pass by the Creator,
 “ and approach in adoration to creatures: wherefore he who made them pro-
 “ vided

“ vided that they should all appear perishable to man, and that this last should
 “ acknowledge the Ruler only as perfect—should acknowledge that he
 “ is one and not two, and that the same God created the four elements,
 “ and that by his creative word all things have their being. The four
 “ distinct elements exercise alternately the elemental service, and the four are
 “ seen, although irrational, still not omitting the duties allotted to them by the
 “ will of their creator, but, on the contrary, obeying it in reverence according to
 “ the order. Behold, easy and manifest to all eyes is the explanation of this
 “ simple proposition; for that which is fire is, according to its being and power,
 “ mingled with the three other elements: so, for example, in stone and steel we
 “ find heat in abundance, less in the air and water, and of itself it never appears.
 “ Water is existent of itself, and exists in conjunction with the three other ele-
 “ ments: we find it in abundance in the earth, and in smaller quantities in the
 “ air and in the fire. The air penetrates fire and water, and by means of water
 “ all edible substances. And thus the elements are mixed and combined as
 “ a body: their natures are mutually unopposed: they have never taken an
 “ hostile position. Whence it is manifest that there is one only Lord, who
 “ mingleth them, who arranges the objects mingled according to one rule
 “ suited to the nature of all things living, and to the enduring existence of the
 “ world.

“ Now if God hath breathed such a spirit into the irrational world, how much
 “ more so into the rational man! Wherefore, also, one of your wisest men said
 “ that the god Mihr was born of a mortal mother, and that the king was a child of
 “ the gods, like to his father the most excellent of the seven Gods^(*). Now you
 “ must believe such fabulous narrations as you bring forward in your religion as
 “ actual occurrences; but we believe not in such fables, but are the disciples of
 “ the great prophet Moses, with whom God conversed from the thorn-bush on
 “ Sinai, for whom he wrote down the laws, and to whom he delivered them.
 “ He taught him to know the corporeal world and its creatures; the incorporeal
 “ being which created the corporeal out of nothing; the earthly beings of
 “ the earth, and the heavenly beings of heaven: he taught him that it was the
 “ work of his hands; that angels were the inhabitants of heaven, and men the
 “ inhabitants of earth; that men and angels alone participated in reason, and
 “ that God hovered over the heaven and the earth. All irrational creatures obey
 “ the command of their ruler, and never do they overstep the limits prescribed
 “ to them. Men and angels only possessing reason, are left free to the
 “ will of their souls, in order that they may live according to the law of God, be
 “ immortal and the sons of God. But all creatures have fallen into bondage
 “ (men on earth, and the angels in heaven), when they deviated from, and
 “ transgressed

A.D. 450. “ transgressed their destination. They acted in opposition to God, and exposed
 “ themselves to shame, according to the nature of their destination, by which
 “ a blameless dominion was open to them, as also disgraceful sin.

“ Now, since thou art bound in ignorance, I who have the true doctrine cannot
 “ turn to thy errors; for, were I to suffer myself to be taught by thy ignorance,
 “ we should both be visited by unspeakable misery, because there is a
 “ prescript given by God himself, which runs thus: ‘ A servant ignorant of the
 “ ‘ command of his Lord, if he be guilty of a punishable offence, shall be punished
 “ ‘ but slightly; but whoso knoweth the command of his Lord and sins in any-
 “ ‘ thing against him, shall be severely punished, and without favour.’ Where-
 “ fore, I pray thee, and all those in thy kingdom, that thou mayest not be the
 “ cause of my being punished severely, nor I the cause of thy being punished
 “ slightly, but that I and thou, this people and the excellent king, may all
 “ instruct ourselves in the holy scriptures, in order that we may escape punish-
 “ ment, that we may repulse hell and deliver ourselves from the inextinguishable
 “ fire; that we may win the kingdom of heaven, and in this perishable life obtain
 “ for eternity an imperishable glory. Believe in that which makes thee tremble,
 “ and thou wilt become a participator in the truth.

“ One of the immortal angels descended from heaven and came on our earth.
 “ He gave to inexperienced and lately-created man, as to a child, false promises
 “ and unattainable hopes by artful words, in order to charm his mind, that he
 “ might eat of the fruit of the tree which he was forbidden to approach, lest he
 “ should become a god. Now when man had transgressed the command of God,
 “ and had been betrayed by this evil artifice, he lost the splendour of immortality
 “ which he had before possessed, and by no means obtained the power of fore-
 “ knowledge. On this account he was driven from the place of life, and he came
 “ into this imperfect land which you now inhabit, and senseless errors followed
 “ this advice. Came it not to pass through the eating of the forbidden tree,
 “ that man hath given to creatures the name of God; that he hath worshipped
 “ the speechless elements, placed meat before the lifeless devils, and turned
 “ himself from the creator of all beings? The wicked counsellor had not
 “ succeeded so well, but that man himself preferred evil; for the devils
 “ cannot by force cast any one into destruction, but they render sin pleasing to
 “ the minds of men, and lead the inexperienced into error by flattering arts;
 “ even as many men lead their acquaintances in a sweet and pleasing manner,
 “ not by force, but by cunning deception, to every kind of evil: this, through
 “ sorcery; that, through voluptuousness; and another by divers and numberless
 “ seductions; wherefore they will suffer the punishment of death through just
 “ judges. Which, however, does not imply that the judges of the good God
 “ effect

“ effect good, and those of the evil God evil ; for very frequently out of the good-
 “ ness of men cometh evil, and out of the wickedness of men most distinguished
 “ good. Nor can the just judges who judge evil deeds be called evil, or evil
 “ doing, but wholly excellent and doing what is right. Their nature is one, and
 “ not two-fold ; from one Judge proceeds these two-fold operations ; some they
 “ punish and some they glorify. Even among men it happens that through one
 “ kingly dignity, a whole kingdom obeys the law ; how much more should the
 “ God of the whole world be obeyed, who wills that all shall live and not die.
 “ Wherever crime abounds, there he punishes with death ; where are obedi-
 “ ence and devotion, there granteth he the crown of immortality.

“ This is the true God of all us creatures, whom you, with unrestrained and
 “ audacious lips, unfearingly and irreverently slander, whom you call a mis-
 “ begotten son,⁽¹⁾—whom you hold to be a teacher of error, erroneously and
 “ unreasonably supposing, that the heavenly redemption of our and many other
 “ countries hath worked to ruin. Wherefore the unquenchable fire of hell awaits
 “ thee to punish thee with torments, as also thy accomplices, the first, the
 “ middle, and the last. But we in this manner acknowledge God and trust in
 “ him, free from all unstedfastness.

“ He who created the world, himself appeared, and was born of the holy
 “ Virgin Mary, without any corporeal agency, as had been before announced
 “ by the prophets. As he made this great frame of the world out of nothing,
 “ so also he formed, without any thing corporeal, the frame of the mediator in
 “ the unspotted Virgin ; and this not as a mere deceptive appearance—he was in
 “ reality God and in reality man. The godhead was not withdrawn through
 “ the human nature, nor was the human nature destroyed by his remaining God ;
 “ but he is both, one and the same.⁽²⁾ Forasmuch as man cannot behold the
 “ invisible, nor draw near to the unapproachable, he came into our humanity
 “ that we might be enabled to approach his divinity. He thought it no shame
 “ to bear his created body ; but he dignified, by his acts, the creature formed
 “ by God ! His immortal dignity availed him not, as it doth the angels ; but
 “ with the material body he took breath and spirit, and joined them with the
 “ godhead. He is neither one nor twofold : and should we not herein acknow-
 “ ledge the godhead, which was before the world, and the same which now rules
 “ over all ?⁽³⁾

“ This is Jesus Christ, who by himself redeemed the whole world, who spon-
 “ taneously devoted himself to death. By the power of his own godhead he
 “ concealed himself in the lonely Virgin, was born, wrapt in swaddling-clothes,
 “ and laid in a manger, whither he guided the Magi from the East to prayer.
 “ He was nourished with milk as a child ; and was thirty years old when he was
 “ baptized

A.D. 450 " baptized in the river Jordan, by John, the son of the barren woman. He
 " performed great miracles and deeds among the Hebrews, was accused by the
 " priests, and judged before Pontius Pilate. He was nailed to a cross, died,
 " was buried, rose again on the third day, and appeared to the twelve disciples
 " and to many others, more than five hundred persons. He continued among
 " them forty days, and then ascended to heaven from the Mount of Olives, in
 " presence of his disciples, and seated himself upon the throne of his Father.
 " He promised to appear a second time, in a terrible night, to awaken the dead,
 " to deal strict justice on the just and on sinners, to reward the good, and to
 " punish the wicked who believe not in good works while there is yet time.

" From this belief no one can move us, neither angels nor men—neither fire
 " nor sword, nor water, nor any other horrid tortures, however they be called.
 " All our goods and our possessions are before thee—dispose of them as thou wilt;
 " and if thou only leavest us to our belief, we will, here below, choose no other
 " lord in thy place, and in heaven have no other God than Jesus Christ, for
 " there is no other God save only him. But, shouldst thou require something
 " beyond this great testimony, behold our resolution: our bodies are in thy
 " hands—do with them according to thy pleasure; tortures are thine, and
 " patience ours; thou hast the sword, we the neck; we are nothing better than
 " our forefathers, who, for the sake of their faith, resigned their goods, posses-
 " sions, and life. Were we even immortal, it would become us to die for the
 " love of Christ; for he himself was immortal, and so loved us that he took death
 " on himself, that we by his death might be freed from the death which is
 " eternal. Since, therefore, he did not regard his immortality, we also who are
 " mortal will cheerfully die for love of him, that he may make us participators
 " in his immortality. We die as mortals, that we through our death may be
 " placed among those who are immortal.

" Do thou, therefore, enquire of us no further concerning these things, for
 " our belief originates not with man. We are not taught like children; but
 " we are indissolubly bound to God, from whom nothing can detach us, neither
 " now, nor hereafter, nor for ever, nor for ever and ever."(")

The entire great assembly, from the highest to the lowest, was of one mind, and they bound themselves by an inviolable vow, to remain true to their confession in life and death.

When the letter arrived at the royal court, and was read in the state council before a large assembly, all the auditory rejoiced at the answer; for they had merely fear before the Sovereign: in secret, and among each other, they acknowledged themselves of the same conviction. And above all, they admired the energy of language,—the absence of all terror or fear. All were roused, and now began

began boldly to arm themselves, and the clang of weapons was heard from all quarters. A.D. 450.

When the calumnious High Priest and the Lieutenant had breathed forth their calumnies, and inflamed the King like an unquenchable fire, he gnashed his teeth like one mortally wounded, cried aloud before the whole assembly, and said: "I know the wickedness of all those men who believe not in our law, and are ensnared inextricably by witchcraft: I have, however, determined in my mind not to intermit my signal punishments before they abandon, even against their will, their erroneous doctrines; and though it were one of those standing nearest to myself, I would use him in the same manner."

Then arose a simple babbler, and said to the King—"Wherefore hast thou so great care for this? Does not the Emperor conform himself to thy command, and are not the Huns subject to thy dominion? Who on the earth is now in a state to resist thy command? Issue a peremptory order, and all which thou requirest will be forthwith accomplished."

The King then called his chancellor,⁽⁴⁾ and commanded him to prepare an order; not in the usual style, but with harsh words, that are used to the hated and disobedient, and he forgot all the sufferings which the subjects who loved their lord had undergone. The present order, however, was to be announced only to those distinguished men whom he himself pointed out, and they were the following:—Of the house of the Siunians, Vasag; of the house of the Ardsrunians, Nerhabuh; of the house of the Rhesdunians, Ardag; of the house of the Khorkhorhunians, Katesh; of the house of the Mamigonians, Vartan; of the house of Mog, Ardag; of the house of the Apahunians, Manesh; of the house of the Amadunians, Vahan; of the house of the Vahevunians, Kid; of the house of the Andsevazians, Shmavon.⁽⁵⁾ These distinguished princes were summoned to the court. Part of them were already in the royal train; part were in the northern counties, at the watch of the Huns; and some had remained behind, in the land of the Armenians.

As they were not all present in one place, they arose, as soon as they perceived the design of the wicked tyrant; and all the distant, as well as they who were at hand, assembled on the same spot, placed their confession of faith in the hands of the Bishop Joseph, and then repaired, each from his place, to the royal court. They were much troubled concerning their brothers, and sons, and beloved relatives in the country, who had much to suffer from oppression. They therefore prepared themselves for death; not as ordinarily, in unmanly cowardice, but on the contrary, they girded themselves with stedfast minds, in order that they might perchance liberate their friends from their great danger.

When they arrived at the court of the King, they were all together brought before

A.D. 450. before the mighty monarch on the great festival day of Easter. Though they saw their brethren in great suffering, which these, for the sake of the name of Christ, firmly bore without a murmur, they appeared neither sorrowful nor troubled before the assembly; and the more cheerful they thus appeared, the greater was the surprise of their slanderers.

In former times it was the custom, when Armenian troops, headed by a distinguished general, came to the court, that some one should be sent forth to meet them, who should inquire concerning the health and well-being of the Armenian country; and having done this twice or thrice, he provided for the brilliant reception of the whole train. Their arriving before warlike engagements was formerly highly honored: in presence of the officers and of all the nobles the praises of the new comers were celebrated, the celebrated deeds of their ancestors were brought to mind, and the bravery of every man was recorded. But now, not only was this not done, but like an evil spirit the King ceased not to excite dissension, and to bluster like the winter's wind, so that he fearfully resembled a raging and stormy sea; and this not merely outwardly in appearance; but enkindled, fanned, and stirred up by hell, he thundered with dragon-voice, screamed with direful din, and filled the whole kingdom with alarm. The sounds, as they were sent forth, spread themselves over all the hills, all the dales and the valleys, and disfigured the far-spreading plains.^(*)

Raging he gave the word, and said, "I have sworn an oath by the Sun, by the great God who by his beams illumines all the world, who by his warmth vivifies all creatures, that if on the morrow at his marvellous appearance every knee do not bow before him and acknowledge him as God, I will bring over you all manner of persecutions and evils, until you, even against your will, shall conform yourselves to my command."

The believers in Christ were not blown down by the winter-storm; they were not burnt by the heat, nor shaken by the thundering voice, nor terrified by the threatening scourge; but they cast their eyes above, and looked for the strength and the help which come from Christ. They came forward with mild and moderate words, and gave to the king the following answer:

"We pray thee, O excellent King! that thou wilt for a short time lend an ear to our words, and that thou wilt listen to the sounds which we are about to utter. We wish to remind thee of the time of Shapuh, the King of kings, who was the father of thy grandfather, Yasgerd. God gave him the land of the Armenians as an inheritance, when already it was under the same profession of faith in which we at the present day still live. Our fathers, and the grandfathers of our fathers, cheerfully performed for him the duties of obedience, fulfilled cheerfully all his commands, and were frequently much distinguished by
" him.^(**)

“ him.⁽²⁴⁾ From that time till thy reign have we performed the same duties, and A.D. 450.
 “ indeed more to thee than to thy predecessors.”

They said this, and submitted how they in martial deeds had performed more than their forefathers; how in yearly tributes and dues, as also in general taxes, more now flowed into the royal treasury from them than had done from their fathers: that he had imposed tributes on the holy church, which had been free in Christ from the beginning, according to the agreement and concurrence of his predecessors; and that they, notwithstanding this, had never shewn themselves disaffected to his government. “ On what ground, then, hast thou pronounced to us this threatening speech? Say, hast thou any reason for punishing us? Are we, by reason of our religious belief, less eager in thy service?” Then the wicked devil, full of every injury, regarding only one side of the question, said: “ I look on it as a loss to keep the tributes of your land in the royal treasury, and of no avail I hold your valour, for in your ignorance you offend against the truth of our belief: you despise our gods—you pollute the burning flame, and defile the water; you bury your dead in the earth, which thus you stain; and while you do not receive the Kirdigar, you render assistance to Ahreman: but what is more than all, is that you do not at all times approach your women, which gives most joy to the gods; and in general, that you transgress and scorn all the prescripts of the Magi.⁽²⁵⁾ I regard you as a flock cast into a waste, and there bewildered; and I am much troubled in spirit, lest on your account the gods should be incensed, and take vengeance on us. But if you will live, if you will raise yourselves into life, and again shew yourselves in great honour, then follow quickly, and without delay, what I have already recommended to you.”

Then all the noble princes raised their voices simultaneously and declared: “ Do not thou, O King! require this from us; for religion is no institution of man, nor a gift of the sun, which you and others take for a god, and which is not only no god, but not even animate. Religion is no glorification of kings, no art of the speakers, no discovery of the wise: it is neither the spoil of valiant armies, nor the deceit of evil spirits. Yonder sun, and whichever you may name among the hosts of heaven, the great as also the small, none of these has ever founded a church; but it is a blessing from the great God, not given to a particular race, but to all rational beings who dwell beneath the sun: its foundation is established on a stedfast stone, which neither those above nor those below can overturn; and that which neither heaven nor earth can cast down will never be shaken by man. Wherefore reflect, if thou wilt attack our faith, we are prepared for all torments, for all sufferings, wherewith thou threatenest us; ready to endure, not evil only, but death itself; and as often as thou shalt

A.D. 450. " question us on the same subject, so often wilt thou hear from every one of us
 " nothing more than this answer."

At this answer the king was yellow with rage ; his gall overflowed ; from his nostrils and mouth flame flashed forth, as the smoke from a burning oven. His spirit was disturbed ; the strength of his body was subdued ; the shell of his purpose was broken ; his malicious intent was open and manifest ; and that which he would not acknowledge to his most trusted friends, he involuntarily revealed to the servants of Christ as follows :—

Three or four times he swore an irrevocable oath by the sun, and said : " You
 " cannot shake my immovable determination, and I will immediately use you
 " as one to whom you are displeasing. You and every one who belongs to this
 " multitude I will load with chains, and cause you to be led to impassable places,
 " where the greater part of you will be destroyed by the heat, and the
 " survivors I will cast into strong prisons and indissoluble bonds. I will send
 " into your country an innumerable force with elephants ; your wives and chil-
 " dren shall be cruelly banished, your churches and chapels shall be demo-
 " lished and given a prey to destruction ; and should any man oppose my will,
 " he shall be trampled on by wild beasts, and die a horrible death without
 " mercy : and all that I have said I will accomplish, and execute on those
 " who remain behind in the land."

And he immediately ordered the distinguished princes to be ignominiously led away from his sight, and gave orders that they should be guarded unchained in their houses by a chief-executioner ; but he himself retired, and shut himself in his dwelling in comfortless despair. The true believers in Christ, being inflamed by his holy doctrines, were by no means of doubtful mind ; but sought for information how they might save themselves and those whom they loved from this great persecution and danger. The nobles who had come to assist at the royal court were repeatedly sounded : great promises were made to them, and they were flattered with possessions ; but no treasure in the world led them into temptation.

When now they were thus brought together from all quarters and cast into confinement, the thought of Abraham came into their souls. They exclaimed aloud, and said : " We all lie ready as an offering, our brothers, sons, and all
 " whom we love. We are as Isaac bound on the holy altar. Receive, O Lord,
 " our voluntary resignation, and deliver not thy Church a prize to the scorn and
 " jest of this tyrannical prince."

One of the privy councillors of the king had in secret an inward love for Christ, for he was baptized with the chalice of life, and was much grieved for those who were in danger of death. Now, as he well knew that the king would inflict on the land of the Armenians all the misery which he had threatened, he
 advised

advised not all, but some of them, to adopt a stratagem, whereby they might at once deliver themselves from danger. A.D. 450.

And before the troops which, with the other foreign auxiliaries, were to render them assistance, had been arranged—(as, for example, the princes of the Georgians),—there arrived the evil intelligence, from the land of the Kushanians, that a number of the enemy had broken loose and wasted several provinces of the kingdom. This was a great help from Heaven to them (the Armenians); for the tyrant hastily mustered his unprepared army, set forth with them in great speed, and, smitten in spirit, he broke the oath which he had formerly taken.

When they who feared the Lord beheld this, they became filled with hope, and said in prayer all together: “O Lord of all! who knowest the hidden mind of man, before whom all secret thoughts lie open, who desirest no testimony to that which is manifest, whose eyes behold that which is unseen, before thee we pour out our prayers. O Lord! hear our secret supplication, and strengthen us in the discharge of our duty, that the evil one may come to shame, who, proud by tyrannous dominion, putteth us to torture. Turn, O Lord! the selfish efforts of the wretch, break his ungodly will, and lead us in peace of mind back to the holy Church, that it may not be suddenly attacked and destroyed by the wicked enemy.”

In their souls they now vowed truth to the Lord, that they would remain firm in their former resolve; and at the same time they sent a message with the announcement that they would conform themselves to the king's ungodly belief.

When the king heard this, he rejoiced exceedingly: he believed that his gods had come to his assistance, and had broken the strong resolution of the servants of the Lord; and behold he prostrated himself before the sun, adoring it with offerings and the other religious observances of the Magi. But the fool knew not that the true Sun was destroying him with a fallacious hope, and baffling his conceited mind, and frustrating his perverse efforts. Dazzled by outward evidence, he suspected no artifice whereby he could be ensnared. He poured out before the Christians all earthly dignities; he raised them all anew and by preference to honours and distinction; he elevated them, and distinguished them throughout the whole kingdom; and to each of them he gave innumerable villages and cities belonging to the royal patrimony. He regarded them as his favourites and confidants; and, in the utter madness of his stubborn spirit, he believed that he had indeed changed truth into a lie.

When he had done this, he assembled a large army, and not a few Magi; more than 700 teachers⁽⁴⁶⁾ he sent with them, and appointed a great prince, a Mogbed, over them. He conjured and commanded those whom he thus sent, saying:

A.D. 450. saying: "Let all be by you arranged according to my will, before my return in peace from the conflict." With such honours and commission he sent them on their way into the land of the Armenians. He himself dispatched many messengers with the joyful tidings; he wrote and announced to all the Magi and Mogbeds, and to all the nobles in all quarters of the country, how he, by the help of the gods, had accomplished this excellent deed.

From their dark ambush broke forth the unclean ones. The Magi were prepared, and voices were heard from distant lands, calling on all to arise and repair towards the west; and before they had arrived in the country of the Armenians they determined by lot, and appointed in what language and in what order the instructions should be prosperously conducted; for they had orders from the royal court to convert, not only the land of the Armenians, but also the Georgians, Albanians, Liphnians, Akhznians, Kortusians, Dsotians, Tasanians,^(*) and all those who were secretly Christians in the dominions of Persia. With senseless rage they robbed the treasures of the holy Church, and like devils they gathered together. This great multitude strengthened itself diligently, as though the devil were their captain, incessantly inflaming them to all misdeeds. A term of six months was appointed to them, and they were incited and inflamed by this royal ordinance:—

"Before the day Navasart, in the month Navasart,^(*) shall arrive, the churches of all places in the kingdom of the Great King shall be pulled down, the doors of the houses of God closed and sealed; the books shall be taken away, and sent to the royal treasury; the sound of psalms shall be hushed, and the reading of the prophets be discontinued; the priests shall not be at liberty in their houses to teach the people; and the believers in Christ, men and women, who dwell in hermitages, shall be forced, with those belonging to them, to return to the ordinary mode of life.

"Furthermore, the wives of princes may be brought to the Magi for instruction; the sons and daughters of the nobles and of the common people shall be instructed by the same Magi in a public assembly. They shall overthrow and abolish the law of holy matrimony, which, according to Christian custom, they have received from their fathers; and shall cause that instead of one wife a man shall take several, that thus the Armenian population may be much increased. The daughters shall be for the fathers, and the sisters for their brothers; but the mother shall not be for the son; though the grandson may ascend the couch with his grandmother.^(*)

"No man shall kill any living thing without making an oblation, whether it be a sheep, a goat, a bear, a bird, or a sucking pig. None shall knead cakes without pantam. Dust and filth shall not be thrown into the fire; the hands shall

“ shall never be washed without bull’s urine.” They shall not kill serpents. A.D. 450.
“ foxes, or hares; they shall not eat otters, salamanders, frogs, or any other
“ kind of worm, but, according to the royal order, collect them speedily, and
“ in great numbers:” and what further regulations they may have with regard to
“ burnt offerings and other offerings, according to the standing regulation,
“ as well that which relates to the oblation vessels as to the proportion of the
“ ashes, let them all be punctually observed.

“ All this which we have said should they have fully accomplished at the
“ appointed time, at the end of the year; and all that remains they should perfect
“ hereafter.”

When this order had reached the Magi and the Mogbeds, they hastened day and night that they might arrive in Armenia, and in their great joy they were displeased with nothing save the length of the journey.

CHAPTER III.

OF THE UNION FOR THE HOLY BELIEF OF THE CHURCH.

A.D. 450. WE will not relate in full all the evil circumstances which befel the army of the Armenians, but at the same time we will not entirely pass over the persecutions. It will suffice to narrate only a little thereof, in order that our fellow-believers should be moved thereby to pity us most deeply; and in order, also, that thou, when thou shalt hear this, mayest shed not a few tears over the misery of the nation.

Lo! when the sinful confession of the Armenians had arrived from the great camp of the Persians to the people who believed in the Holy Gospel, they were heart-broken and cast down, and fell on their faces. Many of them, oppressed with grievous care, became broken in spirit, and overflowing in tears; they censured the princes, and were highly indignant at the confession of the priesthood. They abhorred them altogether, and said: "How have you dealt with the holy ordinances, how have you administered the functions of the altar of God? Have you forgotten the pious benedictions, or have the voices of the prophets become mute? You have covered the eyes of the readers, and closed the ears of the hearers. Did you not remember in your souls what divine command you had received? *He who denies me before men, him will I also deny before my Father in heaven, and before the holy angels.**"

This, and yet more than this, said they against the great assembly of the nobles, and they heaped reproaches on reproaches.

To explain and make manifest their designs was out of the question; wherefore there was no resource but to be silent and give no reply. With overpowering grief they burst into tears. After they had seen and heard this they returned, and every where was comfortless sorrow.

At the same time the priests who were with the army could no longer keep their grief concealed in their souls. They explained, and made it known to the princes and to the whole people, and with speed they sent a messenger into the land of the Armenians. The mournful news went from mouth to mouth; the poison spread itself and reached the assembly of the bishops, and they were afflicted

* I here omit two pages of religious reflections.

afflicted with deep grief. All the evil occurrences were made known, but the secret design was not revealed. Now the bishops made a visitation, each of his diocese. They sent the Choir Bishops to the villages and to the country, and to all the castles of the hilly country. They summoned and assembled together all the men and women, the noble and the vulgar, the priests and the monks; they admonished and strengthened them, and rendered them warriors of Christ.

And first, they were reminded that he should be the true brother, among their neighbours who would follow the command of God: the father should not forgive the son, nor the son listen to the command of the father; the wife should abandon the bed of her spouse, and the servant run away from his lord; the law of God should rule over all, and the transgressors have to expect the punishment of their condemnation through the same law.

When this was made known, there appeared throughout the land armed warriors with helmets on their heads and swords by their sides; and there were not alone valiant men, but also masculine women.

The troops of the Armenians came to Armenia with all things necessary, and a crowd of Magi in the fourth month; and they encamped on a large spot called Ankes,⁽¹⁾ where they set up their tents and collected together an innumerable multitude on every side.

And it was after twenty-five days, on a Sabbath, that the Mogbed himself, with the Magi, and a strong force, wished to have the doors of the church broken open. This was to be the first attempt. But the holy priest Leont was present on the spot; and conformably to the agreement in the former deliberative meeting, and to the will of the holy league, he would not allow them to proceed. Though he was not precisely acquainted with the intention of the princes, nor in a condition to oppose the Mogbed by force, and though none of all the bishops had remained behind, still he allowed not the tyrannical chief to accomplish the least part of his design. He led the loud-shouting people against the troops and the Magi, and the people lifted stones and hurled them at the heads of the Magi, and of the Mogbed, so that they were forced to seek refuge in their dwellings. The people thereupon began the service of God in the church, went through the customary canon and ceased not to pray throughout their whole Sabbath.

After this tumult a number of men and women assembled together from all quarters of Armenia. Then was seen fearful misery and dissension. Some burst into tears, as though their eyes were fountains, and cried with a loud voice as though they would shake the heavens: others again were bolder; they flew to arms, and sought death rather than life. Some in the holy assembly took the Gospel in their hands and prayed to God; while some wished that the earth would open, that they therein might find their graves. All this brought great

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trouble

A.D. 450. trouble on the Mogbed, and he begged instantly that his auxiliaries might save him from death, and escort him in safety to the royal court.

He questioned them concerning what had happened, and said : “ Now will I write to the great king, and shew to him that he should relinquish such an undertaking ; for that, though our gods themselves should come to our assistance, it would still be impossible for the faith of the Magi to gain a firm footing in Armenia, as I myself have experienced the firmness of the church. And even if the Magi were lords in the land, yet would they be powerless against the fury of the people—a fury which would rage not only against strangers, but against their brothers, their sons, and all their relations,—yea, even against their own persons. Where is he who can withstand men like these, whom no dungeons dismay, no tortures terrify, no gains allure, and by whom the extreme of ill, that which is greater than all others, death, is desired more than life ?

“ I have heard from my predecessors that, in the days of the King of kings, Shapuh II., when this doctrine began to spread itself throughout the land, and filled the whole kingdom of Persia, and thence the countries towards the East, that in those days the teachers of our faith instigated the king to issue a rigorous order for the silencing of Christianity, lest the belief of the Magi should be wholly extinguished. The more, however, he sought to check it, the more and more did this doctrine diffuse and increase : it came into the land of the Kushanians, and thence it spread itself south even unto the Indies^(?) : and the Christians were so fearless and bold in the land of Persia, that they even built themselves churches in all the cities of the kingdom, which were distinguished by royal castles. They built chapels, which they endowed in the same manner as the churches ; and they built also dwellings and cells for their hermits in all directions. Nowhere could any means be made effectual against them : they continually increased and spread, and grew to a great power. The cause of this extraordinary success we know not^(*) ; but we see the fact that all the world is conforming to this new doctrine.

“ When the king had cruelly used them, seizing and torturing many of them, and punishing some even with death, he became dejected and discontented in spirit, but their numbers he could not diminish. And when he closed and sealed up the church-doors throughout the whole Persian kingdom, then made they a church of every house, and fulfilled their observances in every place,—nay, they even believed that they themselves were temples, and thought themselves something better than mortal or worldly creatures. They endured the hardest persecutions, and their necks became not weary : plunderers took their goods, yet there was daily more to plunder. The king was furious, and the executioners despaired ; but the Christians were glad and cheerful, enduring all
“ suffering

“ suffering with an untroubled mind, and patiently submitting to the plunder of
 “ all their goods. A.D. 450.

“ The king seeing that they went as in scorn to meet death, as a pure flock
 “ hastening to their heavenly abode, desisted from persecution, and commanded
 “ the Magi and Mogbeds to molest no one, but to leave each to follow his belief
 “ without fear,—the Magi, the Sandik^(*), the Hebrews, the Christians, and all
 “ other religions which might exist in the several provinces of the Persian domi-
 “ nions. Hereupon peace reigned in the land, and all disturbances ceased;
 “ although formerly our country, and the entire west was moved, and all
 “ Dajgasdan^(*) was thrown into confusion by the Christians.

“ This we know from tradition; but what I have beheld with my own eyes
 “ appears to me still greater than the former. Thou (that is, Wasag the Siunian)
 “ who art now the Margrave of this land, art bound in duty to write to the court,
 “ and to make known this powerful insurrection; how they, undismayed, despise
 “ the royal order. Unless we be beforehand with them, and withdraw by flight,
 “ it will be impossible for any of us to escape. If these unarmed people are so
 “ mighty in action, then the gods forbid that they should assemble in arms, for
 “ who could oppose their destructive assault? I knew nothing of the indisso-
 “ luble bond of this church—for what a man hears is one thing, and what he sees
 “ with his own eyes is another. But thou, who hast been brought up from child-
 “ hood in this faith—who hast had personal experience of the fortitude of this
 “ people, that they will not without much bloodshed suffer any violent procedure
 “ against their church,—wherefore hast thou not represented all this faithfully
 “ before the king? For of all the princes thou art the first, and the land is given
 “ over to thee as a Margrave. Wherefore, then, hast thou not had care for it in thy
 “ soul? I well know that in other circumstances thou hast shewn thyself full of
 “ wisdom, but this conduct evinces none; for is it not manifest that thou art in
 “ connivance with them, and that induced by thee they have thus dealt with me
 “ and my followers?

“ But if this be so, and the people will not cheerfully receive the creed of the
 “ Magi, fear nothing from the king. I will write and represent to the chief Mog-
 “ bed, as also to the Terantarzabed and to the great Hasarabed^(*), that they should
 “ prevail with the king to recall his former command; and that freedom be secured
 “ to all men, in order that they may gradually make themselves acquainted with
 “ the faith of the Magi, and that thus, they who come to us of their own free will
 “ may be the fulfillers of the royal pleasure. For this province is a boundary mark,
 “ and it is to be feared lest the inhabitants should scatter themselves through a
 “ foreign land, if wrong be done to them. But should the country be deprived of
 “ its inhabitants, then also thou must expect a great punishment from the court.”

A.D. 450. The Margrave answered the Mogbed and said: "All thy words and admonitions are true, with this limitation—that we knew nothing of the first occurrence which has happened to you, and which we much regret. But do thou accomplish what I prescribe, and what will seem good to you; be only somewhat cunning—conceal thy thoughts from the multitude (but reveal them to those men whom I shall designate), until I procure the means of collecting an auxiliary force, and be thus in a condition to break the holy league. And if I can but accomplish this, I know that I shall be enabled to fulfil the royal command."

Hereupon he summoned his troops from the province Sünik, and increased their numbers, for the assistance of the Magi and the Mogbed, and said: "Now procure an order from the court concerning the army, which is among the Albanians 10,000 strong. Let it come to Armenia for winter quarters: for with them in our hands there is nothing which can resist the command of the king."

The Mogbed answered and said to the Margrave: "This proposal is adverse to my opinion; for if we use force in the land it will be ruined, and we ourselves shall be unable to escape without injury. The greatest injury for the kingdom is the unhappiness of its subjects."

But the Margrave would lend no favourable ear to this, for he had with his whole heart gone over to the Persian creed. He then began to mislead some by presents, others by fair words; but the common people he terrified with threats, and rendered them low spirited. He continually increased the extravagance of the temples, and multiplied the songs of jubilation, and caused whole nights to be spent in boisterous singing and unbridled dances. He introduced captivating music and heathen songs, and did on the whole great service to the belief of the king. He had also much treasure from the court, and he gave presents to one and the other as a foretaste of honour and possessions. In this manner, and with this cunning, he allured many innocent persons and made them his friends.

When the holy Bishops saw this they became inflamed with zeal: they combined, and dexterously caused dissension in the camp. After they had certain information that the apostate prince of Sünik was incurably wounded in spirit, they separated themselves and abandoned him.

On one occasion, in the night, the whole multitude of the believers held a council, at which they called the Field-marshal Sbarabed to assist. They mutually questioned and inquired of each other, and they found themselves to be of unchangeable mind, so that none had even in the smallest degree, fallen away from the love in Christ. All prayed to him that he would send them courage from above. At this assembly were present many who had not assisted at the first union.

Several

Several divisions of the army attended, and they entirely separated themselves from the Magi, the Mogbed, and the godless Vasag. A.D. 450.

This Vasag, however, knew so well how to prevail over the mind of the Mogbed, that the latter left to him the arrangement of all circumstances.⁽⁷⁾ He began to distribute the Magi in the houses of the princes, and to appoint them large salaries: he made burnt offerings of sheep, of which the Christian children were compelled to eat, and to adore the sun. Thus the impious excesses increased in the land so much, that the wives of the soldiers of the royal life-guard dared even to extinguish the church-lights on a Sunday, and to mingle themselves among the nuns.

When the holy Bishops saw this outrage, they took the gospel in their hands, and uninvited went to the dwelling of the Field-marshal, where the army of the Armenians was assembled. They raised their voices and said: "We beg of you, altogether, by the Holy Gospel, that if with your consent the Margrave and Mogbed have done this unholy deed, you would first break our necks and then extirpate the belief: but if they have committed this profligacy without your consent, then execute vengeance upon them."

All those who were with Sbarabed sprang up, raised their voices simultaneously to God, and said: "O Lord, searcher of all hearts! thou requirest no testimony from men. Had we fallen away from thee in our hearts, thou wouldst know it well, and wouldst deal with us this day according to our sins: but since we are firm in the faith of the holy gospel, so may the Lord be our help this day, who shall give the enemy into our hands, in order that we may deal with them according to our pleasure."

When they had said this they bowed their heads to the earth, and knelt before the gospels and the bishops. But there was among them at this deliberation one of the princes who did not agree in the great confession, and he was stoned to death on the spot, so that a great alarm came upon them all. At the same time such was the passionate zeal which seized the people, that they publicly scoffed at the king's authority, and cast his cruel order on the ground. They then flew to arms, spent the night in preparing and arming themselves, and with sun-rise they in three divisions broke in upon the camp; the first division on the eastern side, the second division on the western side, and the third division on the northern side. Thus forming a circle, they forced in the whole camp, slew many, took the greater number of the distinguished men prisoners, and confined them in the strong mountain-castles of their own country. The booty of the camp was collected on one spot and guarded, as though the king had so commanded it.

Now the Margrave being also made prisoner, and having bound himself by oath to remain true to their belief, he was much troubled by reason of his apostacy therefrom. He fell at the feet of the holy bishops and prayed for forgiveness, imploring

A.D. 450. imploring with artful words that they would not wholly cast him off. Before the whole assembly he took a two and three-fold inviolable oath, binding himself by the holy gospels with a vow ; and, holding the gospel in his hand, he implored them to deliver him over to the vengeance of God, and not to punish him in a mortal manner. Although they were fully aware of his artful hypocrisy, and that he would deceitfully return to his former errors, yet they used no violence towards him on account of his former fault, and gave him over for punishment to the holy gospel.

They who had plundered the sacred treasures of the church were forced to surrender themselves and their spoil into the hands of the holy bishops, and of the whole army ; and further, the royal order was torn and destroyed. Strengthened by divine omnipotence, they exclaimed aloud and said in thanksgiving, men and women, and the entire multitude : “ We are prepared to suffer and to die ; we are “ prepared for all torments and persecutions for the sake of our belief, which has “ been transmitted to us from our forefathers through the power of the appear- “ ance of our Lord Jesus Christ, through whom we have been born again, in the “ hope of faith, by the baptism in Christ Jesus. Him will we imitate, renewing “ our souls through suffering and blood ; for we know that the holy faith is “ our father and our mother in the Apostolic Catholic Church. No evil meddler “ shall come among us to separate us from her.”*

All this, and yet more, they said, comforting themselves among each other. The warriors prepared with their arms, and the messengers were unwearied in their prayers, and the watchmen zealous at their watch-posts. The voices of the devout sounded forth the sacred psalms by day and night, and the reading of the divine gospels was at all times uninterrupted ; as also the exposition and consolatory discourses founded on this heavenly doctrine.

Now they fell upon the strong-holds and places which the Persians had every where in the land, and drove out and destroyed those who dwelt therein. At first they took the great Ardashad with its boroughs : then they approached the almost inaccessible fortresses, as the city Karni, Ani Ardakers, and its boroughs, Ergainortk and Arhni, with the boroughs ; Barzrapukh, Khoranis, Dsakanis ; the fortress Wokhagan and its boroughs, Arphaneal, and the city Van with its province ; Kreal, Kaboid, Worode, and Vasagashad. (†)

All these places and provinces, together with their troops and officers, they took in one year (450). They destroyed the places ; and carried away the men and women, together with their property and possessions, treasures and riches, into captivity. They pulled down and laid waste their dwellings, and burned the houses of idolatry,—the houses for the worship of fire. They removed the horrors of false worship ; and taking the utensils away from the fire-

* Here some spiritual reflections are omitted.

fire-temples, they placed them in the holy churches, where they were consecrated by the priests to be ornaments to the altar of the Lord. Instead of the idolatry which had been performed in all the heathenish places, they now set up the cross of Christ the Redeemer; they purified all the holy altars, established holy and lifegiving principles, and appointed priests and curates, and all in the land gave themselves up to steadfast hope. A.D. 450.

Even before this excellent consummation was effected the divine favour illuminated all the faithful—for without any request on the part of the Armenian army, some of those in the land towards the East rose up in the province of Aderbadakan^(*), spread devastation all around, and overturned the fire-temples and reduced them to ruins.

Those who were present at the great fortress* made the sign of the cross, and rushed upon the troops; and the two walls of the castle, which were so situated as to be scarcely approachable, fell of themselves. This great miracle filled all the inhabitants of the land with terror; they destroyed the fire-temples with their own hands, abandoned the laws of the Magi, and turned to the holy gospel. Still more deeds of excellence and valour were performed by the army, so that even where there was no hope of conversion to the Lord, yet fear reigned by reason of the army, and each related to his neighbour the wonders which he had witnessed. Sundry stars were seen in the heavens shining with great brightness, though till then they had not possessed this property; and even children were valiant as warriors.

After several days the Chiliarch of the Albanians came to the holy Bishop, and with great sorrow announced to the army as follows: “The Persian troops which had been in the land of the Huns are marching hither, with many other troops which had been placed at the gates. Besides these, they are accompanied by three hundred learned Magi, who are to disperse themselves throughout the land, convert every one, pull down the churches, and force all to conform to the king’s command. These Magi say: If you receive our faith of your own free will, then shall you receive from the king honours and presents, from the court also a remission in the taxes; but if you receive it not freely, we have orders to construct fire-temples in the boroughs and cities, to kindle the fire Behram⁽¹⁾, and to appoint Magi and Mogbeds learned in the law throughout the land. Should any one attempt resistance, he will suffer death, and his wife and children will be regarded as aliens, and banished.”

When the Armenian troops had received this mournful intelligence concerning the return of the Persian troops, they lost none of their courage, but on the contrary assembled throughout the country, on account of the afflicting news which had reached them. They bravely held together, intending to attack the
Persians,

* The name of this fortress is wanting in the original.

A.D. 450. Persians, and take them prisoners by stratagem; in order that, being thus obstructed in their design, they might not attack the holy faith of the church. They deliberated on the means for escaping the snares of the Persians, in order that these might, by the help of God, be forced to abandon their intention.

At this time one of the distinguished nobles, by name Adon, of the house of the Knunians⁽¹¹⁾, was sent with speed to the west, in order to announce the purpose of the evil-minded king in the East, and at the same time to make known the valiant exploits which had been performed in opposing the terrible order, and how the Magi had been subject to great danger. The support of the king was implored in the strife against the Magi; and, should he wish it, the supplicants offered to place themselves under his dominion. The following is a copy of the epistle which they wrote to the Emperor Theodosius:

“ Joseph, Bishop, together with all the bishops and the entire body of the Armenians, the Margrave Nasag, and Nershabuh the Rhumposian⁽¹²⁾, with the generals and all the distinguished princes, to the illustrious Emperor Theodosius, greeting, from all of us, to thee and thy whole army.

“ Through your peace-loving benevolence you now rule by sea and by land, and none on the earth dares to oppose your firm dominion. We have also sure traditions of your valiant predecessors, who after they had conquered Europe passed into Asia, and ruled over all countries from the borders of Syria to Gades, no one daring to oppose them, or withdraw himself from their rule. Our country of Armenia was called the great rural seat of that great empire. Our ancestor, Dertad, remembered your former good will, when he escaped from his murderous uncles⁽¹³⁾ and fled into the land of the Greeks, where he was educated, and appointed by you king over his patrimonial territory.

“ Even so proceeded from the holy head of the bishops at Rome, the belief in Christ which enlightened the darkness of the northern countries, and from which the darkness-loving son of the east would now remove us.⁽¹⁴⁾

“ And this is also the reason why we, encouraged by your bravery, have ventured to resist his order, and already we have accomplished much. We held it preferable to die in the faith than to live by apostacy. Should you now deliver us out of the hands of the king, we shall thus obtain a double life and be for ever rescued from death; and if you hasten without loss of time, you may by sudden seizure become possessed of the other countries.”

While they stood before the great monarch, and read the petition of the Armenian country, and recalled past events, many volumes were produced and read, and in them was found a treaty of firm friendship. The excellent Theodosius then demanded of his senate⁽¹⁵⁾ the necessary means for enabling him to re-establish peace; and he immediately took measures that the churches of the east should

should not be demolished by the unbelieving heathens. But alas! shortly after, on the 28th day of July 450, the end of his life came suddenly upon him; and this was a woeful obstacle to the promised assistance.

A.D. 450.

In the place of Theodosius reigned the Emperor Marcianus.⁽¹⁶⁾ By the counsels of two evil-minded men, his servants,—the patrician Anatolius and the Syrian Elpharios⁽¹⁷⁾ (both were worthless, evil, and ungodly men),—by the advice of such persons the monarch suffered himself to be guided, and would hear nothing of the Holy League, which was with all its force resisting the iniquity of the heathens. Thus this petty coward thought it better to consult his personal safety by adhering firmly to the treaty with the heathens, than to fight the good fight for the treaty with Christ. Wherefore he sent with haste the said Elpharios as ambassador to the king of the Persians, with whom he concluded a close alliance, promising to withdraw his troops, arms, and all other aids from the Armenian people.

When this treaty was formed, and all hope in human help thus annihilated, the bishops returned and endeavoured to encourage themselves and the army. Although they were well aware of the smallness of their numbers, and also of the union of the two monarchs (the alliance between the king of the Persians and the emperor of Byzantium), yet they were in no degree cast down, but were as confident as at the first assembly, saying: “We are prepared to slay and to be slain: for God it is easy to accomplish much by a small number, and by our unworthiness to bring great things to pass.”

As they had no king to be their leader, nor any assistance to hope for from abroad, they proceeded on their own impulse, and on the consoling promise of the holy teachers, altogether to one place, to the armies of the nobles, each one according to his tribe;⁽¹⁸⁾ many troops from the royal province were also present. The whole multitude was formed into three divisions. The first division was entrusted to Nershabuh, the Rhumposian, with the charge of guarding the country near to the boundary of the land Aderbadakan. The second division was given over to the hands of Vartan, the commander-in-chief of the Armenians, who was to lead it to the borders of Georgia, against the Margrave, at Djor, (near Derbend), who had taken that direction and was destroying the churches of Albania. The third division was given over to the hands of Vasag, the prince of Sünik, who in his heart had not disengaged himself from the alliance with the heathens.

This latter chose and took with him all those whose faith he knew to be weak—namely, the prince of the Pakradunians with his followers, the prince of the Khorkhorhunians with his followers, the prince of the Abahunians with his followers, the prince of the Vaheyunians with his followers, the prince of the Palunians with his followers, the prince of the Kapekhenians with his followers, the prince of Urds⁽¹⁹⁾ with his followers, and many other troops from the royal province,

A.D. 450. province, and some associates from another house. He artfully possessed himself of some strongholds in his own province of Sünik, hypocritically pretending that from these positions he could easily fall upon the Persian forces and drive them from the land of the Albanians.

He sent secretly and with great speed messengers to the Persian army with this intelligence: "Behold, I have loosened the band of the Armenian league, and divided the army into three divisions. The first division is gone into a distant territory in the neighbourhood of Her and Saravant.⁽⁹⁾ The second division is in my hands, and I will not consent to its molesting the royal army; and all the soldiery in the land I have parcelled and scattered over the whole country. The third division I have given over to Vartan, that he may lead them into Albania: their number is small. March against them, and hesitate not to give them battle, for I know that they must fall before your superior force."

This, the Margrave wrote and despatched to one who was called Sepukhd. When the latter had received the summons of Vasag, and had ascertained that the Field-marshal of the Armenians had but a small army with him, he tarried not in the neighbourhood of Djor, but arose with his whole force and hastened to the great river Kur, and met with him near the boundaries of Georgia, by the city Ehakhkhakh, which was the winter residence of the kings of Albania.⁽¹⁰⁾ He proceeded thither and encamped there with all his army, taking possession of the whole of the large plain, that he might give Vartan battle. There they stood armed and prepared with all things necessary for engaging the Armenian troops.

The brave Vartan and his followers beheld the great multitude of the heathens, and their own small number—so much smaller than their enemies—yet their courage for the fight was nothing diminished by this superiority, but they together lifting their hands towards heaven, exclaimed aloud, and said: "Judge, O Lord, those who judge us; fight against those who fight against us, and stand by us with thy armour and thy shield. Disperse and defeat the great number of the unbelievers, destroy and annihilate the iniquitous union of thy enemies against thy great sign of redemption, and give into the hands of the few the power of victory over the innumerable multitude. Not for the empty fame of glorious deeds do we now implore thee, not for wealth and possessions nor for perishable greatness, but that the belief announced by the oppressed and holy gospel may be manifest and evident to all men, that thou art the Lord of life and death, and that in thy hands are conquest and defeat. We are ready to die for love of thee; and should we slay them, may they fall as a sacrifice to the Truth."

After they had said this they collected themselves and began the attack. They broke through the right wing and overthrew the left; they cut down all with the sword over the whole plain, and drove them in flight to the fortified places overgrown with

with trees, to the lofty hills by the river Lophnas.⁽¹³⁾ Here some of the royal troops of the king of Palas or Pakhasgan⁽¹⁴⁾ placed themselves, and seized an Armenian prince on horseback, slew the Mush of the avant-garde and wounded the Kasrig.

A. D. 450.

On this spot, at the source of the river, arose Arshavir the Arsharunian, and roaring like a lion, rushed on the enemy like a wild bear, he overthrew and killed Vurk the valiant brother of the king of the Liphnians, with all his band, and stretched all his brave ones low on the earth. Terrified at this fearful assault, more plunged into the stream than fell on land by the sword. The clear river-water was turned to blood by the multitude of corpses. None of all those in the wood could escape to the plain, save only one soldier who swam on horseback across the great river, and thus carried the sorrowful tidings to the rest of the army. These flew to the royal residence.⁽¹⁵⁾ After the Armenian troops had won this great battle, the bodies of the slain were plundered and the collected booty was brought into the camp. The bodies were stripped, and the gold and the silver, the weapons and the ornaments of the brave men and their noble steeds, were gathered together.

Now the Armenians with no less valour fell upon the towns and cities which the Persians possessed in the land of the Albanians—they attacked them boldly and liberated the strong places from oppression. They put to the sword all the evil-working Magi whom they found in the strong places, and gave their flesh to the birds of heaven and to the wild beasts of the earth. They purified all those places from the iniquitous burnt-offerings, and freed the churches from the grievous ill of Heathenism.

Many princes of the Albanians and all the inhabitants who for the name of Christ had fled and shut themselves up in the mountain castles of the Caucasus, came when they heard of this fortunate event which God had wrought by means of the Armenian host, and joined them as their associates in deeds of bravery. They set forth and marched into the land of the Huns, which the Persians had conquered; they overthrew the watch by the gates, exterminated the troops which they found within, and gave over the gates themselves into the hands of Vahan, who was of the kindred of the kings of the Albanians. In all these brave exploits none among them was wounded, one nobleman excepted, who fell in the great battle.

From this place they sent him, to whom they had delivered over the watch, as ambassador to the Huns and many other barbarous nations in alliance with the Huns, in order to establish friendly relations and to conclude a lasting treaty with them. When these heard what had happened they hastened swiftly to the place, and with their own eyes beheld the fortunate triumph. They delayed not to swear to the treaty with an oath conformably to their belief, and received the vow of the Christians that they would firmly preserve the alliance with them.

A.D. 450. When they had accomplished this, and concluded an alliance so advantageous for them, and were returned in peace to the place whence they had set out, the sad news arrived from Armenia that the enemy had broken forth, and that the serpent had unfolded itself, the apostate Vasag having abandoned the faith of Christ, and laid waste many parts of Armenia, particularly the royal winter residences which gave shelter to the troops—namely, Karni, Eramon, Tershanakerd, the great buildings, Vartanashad, the fortified Oshagan, Pharhakhod, Arktansn, the borough of Dsohkerd, the fortress Armavir, the borough of Kuash, Arush, Arshnag, the entire level country of Arakads, the province Ardashad, the capital Ardashad itself, and all the places and boroughs which lay around he plundered and burnt, and drove every man from his home.

He laid his hands on the holy churches, despoiled them of the sacred altar vessels, declared the possessions of the priests to be lawful booty, cast them into chains, and spread rapine and devastation throughout the whole country. The troops which were on the borders of Aderbadakan could not offer opposition in the middle of the land (to the troops of Vasag); and those which had remained behind were defeated by the ungodly, and fled to the borders, where they remained true to the Christian confession. Of the troops which were with Vasag some fled to their homes, but the greater part shared in his ungodliness.

The army of Vartan arose from the place of their encampment, and returned in great haste to Armenia with great quantities of spoil. They sang with unanimous joy, and said with a loud-sounding voice: "Acknowledge the Lord for he is good, for boundless is his mercy; he who dashed the numerous nations to the earth and extirpated the dauntless princes, for he is good, and boundless is his grace." When they had sung these psalms to the end, they joined in prayer to the honour of the Trinity. The general superintended every thing in person: he was in front, behind, and on every side of the army; and thus in thirty days they arrived in health and joyful on the borders of their native land.*

When the apostate Vasag and the princes who were with him obtained tidings of the valiant deeds of Vartan's army in Albania, and also of the treaty with the Huns, he awaited not their appearance, but with the concurrence of his auxiliaries he one night suddenly decamped, and threw himself into the fortified towns of his province. So hasty was his departure, that he left behind not only what he had seized and amassed in the province of Ararad, but even his own property. But as the winter now approached, and the pay of his troops was exhausted, he could not possibly support the whole army on one spot; wherefore he scattered them through the several provinces of the land, that they might pass the winter in peace. He commanded all things to be prepared against the spring, and as he possessed all the

* In this last sentence I have entirely changed the punctuation of the edition before me.

the royal places, he harassed the few nobles who had abandoned him. Though he sent troops out of the province Sünik, and caused all the provinces to be plundered, still such was the indigence which he brought on himself and on the army under him, that in their extreme necessity they indiscriminately devoured the dead horses and asses. So great was the misery which befel the apostates, that in the bitterness of their sorrow they shed tears before the assembly of the holy bishops and of all the priests. Shoeless and naked men and tender women were brought before them, and many children lay on the road-side among the stones.

After all these events, so fortunate for the fearers of God, had occurred, all the bishops and priests issued an order in the land, that the whole month of Kakhoz (December) should be passed in night-watching and prayer, in order to give thanks to God, and to celebrate the festival of the victory they had gained, on the festival of the appearance of Christ, that the remembrance of it might be perpetual as the everlasting feast of God himself. The bishops wrote down all the signs whereby God had glorified himself in the Armenian country, and had them proclaimed in the land of the Greeks, in the great city of the holy council (Chalcedon), that they also might send prayers to heaven, for our finishing the work even as we had begun.

One of the Persians who had been first cast into chains was set at liberty and brought before the princes: they spoke to him, and shewed him all the misery, arising from the plunder of the country and the overthrow of the royal army, and also the greater evils that were likely to ensue. When they had pointed out to him all this—namely, how, on both sides, the valiant and those who had remained behind were suffering injury; how vain and empty was the endeavour to deprive them of their paternal belief; how the apostate Vasag's art had deceived the king with respect to the Armenians; how he, without conference with any one, had adopted the doctrine of the Magi, and that *he alone* had been false; when they had impressed all this upon him, they entrusted to him an embassy, to present a petition on behalf of the innocent, and proposed thereby to deliver their brethren from oppression. But the sad messengers of Vasag had already reached the king, and had given mournful intelligence of the events in the royal army, and of all the misery which was done to the church by the holy league; for it was always the object of this godless man to dissolve the union between the bishops and the princes, which however he could never in any degree effect: for though it is clear that in nature, body and spirit separate from each other in due time, yet such separation is impossible among those who are united by the love of God.

When he (namely, the Persian of whom we have above spoken) had arrived at the winter residence, he related all this before the king, and endeavoured to alter his opinion as also that of the small number of the army whom he found there—
especially

A.D. 450. especially as they had returned not full of honour, but covered with shame from the battle in the East.⁽³⁾ When the king had learned the truth from the first messenger, he ascribed all the failure of his undertakings to his councillors. His extraordinary rage subsided, for it had made dumb the mouths of his evil advisers, who had unceasingly inflamed him to wicked deeds; his haughtiness was humbled, and his proud heart reverted to feelings of humanity. He beheld how powerless he was, and perceived that he could not accomplish all that he might wish to accomplish. Wherefore his adventurous pride in some degree decreased, and his vain commands were no longer heard.

He who had thundered with loud-echoing voice, who had terrified the distant and the near by his fearful orders, began to speak with sweet and moving words! “What sin have I committed?—how have I transgressed against the nations, or tongues, or against particular persons? Are there not many religions in the kingdom of the Arians, and is not their service of God public?—wherefore then should they now be forced to return to the law of the Magi, and particularly the adherents of Christianity, who have appeared to us so much better than other religions, by how much they have been more firm and true in attachment to their creed! No charge can be brought against their belief; it appears to me to be perfectly like the religion of the Masteses; and in fact these latter were also allied to our ancestors, as I myself remember to have heard from my father who sat on this great throne. After he had inquired into all religions and looked narrowly into them, he found the belief of the Christians to be better than all others. Wherefore they were much exalted and honoured at the royal court—they were made glad by him with rich and honourable gifts, and unimpeded they spread themselves over the whole country. He even dignified the chiefs among the Christians, whom they call bishops, with the same presents and gifts of sacrifice as the holy priests; he vanquished their most distant territories, but never found that they withdrew from the greatest services for the king. You have never been mindful of this good, but have incessantly afflicted my ears with the narration of all possible evil. Behold now whether ye have not entangled me with things which are not pleasing to me, and if we do not suffer great misery, from two implacable foes on the borders. I was ever of a different mind, and no combat is upon my head. You have begun a war here in my own house, the consequence whereof is worse than even that of the struggle with a foreign enemy.”

This, and yet more than this, he said to all the nobles, and he threatened the Mogbed and Magi with punishment for what had happened. All the great and distinguished princes who sat in the royal council and heard this menacing speech, were covered with shame, cast their looks to the earth, and could not lift up their heads.

heads. Very few of them were pleased in spirit with this speech, and answered as follows: "Proceed, O king herein as thou hast said, and then you will subdue all by justice. There is nothing which can go forth against thy will, for to thee the gods have given power to accomplish all things. Be not troubled in mind, nor cast all our spirits into sorrow, for the means are always present for adjusting the differences. Be magnanimous, and establish the freedom of the Christians, whereby thou wilt bring back to their allegiance all those who have fallen away from it."

A.D. 450.

These words pleased the king exceedingly, and he immediately summoned all those nations before him which professed Christianity, and which were among his army. He had formerly persecuted them much, for none of them was at liberty to worship God openly, and whoever opposed the regulation was punished and obstructed in the adoration of the Lord. Some were even forcibly compelled to worship the sun, and despondency had therefore spread throughout the whole army.

But now that the Christian faith was to be tolerated as in former times, as the apostates could not again return to the Christian way of life without great penance, the king gave orders that they should be brought back to their churches by force. He also ordered that the priests should do as they thought fitting according to their statutes, and each received the salary which had formerly been taken from him. He ordered that the utensils which had been torn from them should be restored to the places whence they had been taken, gave back even those which had been placed in the royal treasury, and established all things on their former footing. He himself so far condescended that he spoke with the clergy in kind terms, according to his previous custom.

When this had been ordered and perfected, he sent, with reference to this permission, a proclamation unto all parts of his kingdom, relative to the Christians: "should any one be in bonds, he should be set free by the royal command: should any one have been deprived of his property, it should be restored to him." He at the same time ordered that the possessions and patrimonial inheritance, whether only honours or valuable property, in a word all that might have been taken from any one, should be restored to him. After he had granted all this he required the homage of the Armenian country: he himself took an oath, that they should continue in the possession of their great privileges, and that vengeance should not be taken on them on account of any past occurrences. "As ye formerly followed your creed in public, so shall it be established still more in the time to come: only withdraw not yourselves from our dominion."

All this he wrote and proclaimed in the country of Armenia, and in all the other countries which adhered to Christianity; and sent also with great speed, intent

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A.D. 450. on secret deception, to the emperor Marcianus. But when he had learnt with certainty that the Romans had withdrawn their help from the Christians, that they no longer supported them with troops nor with any thing whatever, he returned to his former erroneous views. He commanded that all should implore a fortunate issue through the intercession of the Magi, and he still entertained an idea that every thing might be accomplished according to his original intention.

When the Armenians received the epistle of the king full of deceitful assurances, an epistle which contained outwardly the joyful message of life but inwardly the bitterness of death, they marvelled with undecided minds, and said one to the other: "How shameless is the tempter, with his deceitful guile: has he not been twice and thrice found false, and yet he is unabashed? Should he now loosen our indissoluble union, he will become more undisguised.—He has only done this in order to weaken us! Shall we put faith in his faithless epistle? Have we seen that the churches throughout all Persia have had their goods restored to them? He who himself is evil can shew no goodness to others—he who himself is dark cannot bring others back to the light of truth. As justice dwells not in injustice, nor falsehood in truth, so neither does the light of peace dwell in a soul enveloped in darkness. But we, made free by the might of God, we trust in the hope of Christ, who assumed a mortal body in the holy Virgin."*

Now when the king found that he could not dissolve the steadfast league, he uttered the most reproachful words with which Satan by his power had inspired him. And his iniquity was great: it was the iniquity of a man who gladly destroyed the sinless bodies of the holy from childhood upwards, and was unsatiated with the blood of the innocent. He heaped evil on evil, and agreeably to his murderous order a great multitude assembled round him, and a swarm of elephants. He then came to the city Phaidagaran^(*) on the borders of Armenia, and distributed his army round the city, waiting an opportunity for the proclamation of his treacherous design. And there, in the secure hollow, lay the old poisonous serpent, hiding itself from the brave by all artfulness, and terrifying the distant by its fearful shrieks, and gently alluring the near with its sporting train. This was the prince and vizier over all Persia, whose name was Mihrnerseh, against whom none dared to make any attempt: not alone the great and the little, but even the king himself, whose agent he was in all evil deeds, obeyed his commands.

* Here some spiritual reflections are omitted.

CHAPTER IV.

OF THE APOSTACY OF THE PRINCE OF SÜNIK AND HIS UNGODLY FRIENDS.

HITHERTO I have related, without especial grief, all the miseries which the foreign foes of truth maliciously inflicted on us : but these were the least of the ills which overtook us ; by far the greatest originated among ourselves. Though in professions we were unanimous and friendly, one with the other, yet there were some, who in secret were false and treacherously disposed ; for hardly would the foes have dared to behold with their own eyes our dangerous league, had they not found an entrance in many places. A.D. 451.

Wherever dissension insinuates itself, all union must cease ; heavenly virtue vanisheth, and those, whose minds are more elevated, utter mournful tones. Do we weep over a corpse, over the separation of a limb from the holy body (of the church), and shall we not be filled with still greater tribulation over those whose bodies and souls together die ? And if we so mourn for a single soul, how much more for those of a whole race ?

But these, our lamentations, resound not for a race alone, but for many races and provinces, which I will mention in succession, although there is no pleasure in so doing. Truly, with reluctance do I describe all this :—how some, for the sake of their lives, fell away from the faith and caused the apostacy of many others : how some also did this only in appearance, others again both in appearance and reality. But the heaviest curse of all is, that the gates of perdition, which they thus have opened, none save God alone can close again—the entrance is all that is given to man.

Notwithstanding that the unbeliever Mihrnerseh was already convinced of the ungodliness of Vasag, yet he now sent to him, and had him brought into his presence. As he had, before this time, separated himself from the Armenian league, he obeyed the summons forthwith, assured Mihrnerseh of his fidelity, and gave an account of the insurrection of the Armenians. He related more than was true, and added charges of which the Armenians were wholly innocent, in order that he might make himself appear worthier and dearer to the unbeliever.

Though the latter inwardly despised him, still he outwardly distinguished him with much honour, and conferred great worldly gifts upon him : he promised him

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A.D. 451. a larger principality than that which he already possessed, and suffered him in his vanity to look forward to something even above his own power; namely, that he might be raised to the throne: all which was done, that Vasag might use every means to dissolve the union of the Armenians and to accomplish the will of the king.

As Vasag proposed to bring every thing to pass according to the king's desire, he thought himself able to break and annihilate the steadfast league. With this conviction he comforted his depressed mind, believing that we might be allured into boundless perdition. He set his understanding and his cunning to work for this purpose, but he did not attain it. He himself had, in effect, separated from the holy church:—he withdrew from it, and was wholly estranged from the love of Christ. He forgot the appearance of the Son of God, and no longer remembered the announcement of the holy gospel, which is neither to be affected by the threats of the ignorant nor by alluring words. He disowned the Virgin which had given birth to the Redeemer, and remembered not the manifestation of the Holy Spirit which had begotten him.* He seduced many from among the congregation of Christ, led them away, and added them to the numbers of the devil. Like a serpent, he lurked treacherously on every side among those against whom he had designs: he dug a pit-fall and caught many nobles, very many princes and some well known priests. The names of these, his accomplices, are as follows: Ardag, prince of the Rhesdunians; Katish, prince of the Khorkhorhunians; Kid, prince of the Vahevunians; Diroz, prince of the Bakradunians; Manedj, prince of the Abahunians; Arden, prince of the Agraik; Nerseh, prince of Urds; Varastshapuh, the second prince of the Balunians; a noble of the Amadunians, by name Manen; and many freemen, who in the royal household are called Wosdanigh,—that is, the body-guard.⁽¹⁾

He allured the whole of his large province to apostatize (not only the great but also many members of the Christian league) chiefly by means of the apostate priests, through whom he worked this evil. And these were, the priest Santag, the priest Peter, and the deacon Sahag. These he sent to the unsuspecting people whom he wished to deceive and betray. They swore on the holy gospel, and said that by the king the exercise of Christianity would be secured to all. By this artifice they detached many from the holy league, dispersing and mingling them with the crowd of the apostates.

All the rabble were assembled and formed into an armed force, many of whom were presented to the great Hasarabed (Mihnerseh), and their valour and daring was much extolled. All which was done by the cunning of the unbelievers, in order that they might create dissension among the Armenians.

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* The unholy conduct of Vasag occupies a whole page in the history of Elisens, and abounds in phrases and expressions like those in a homily, which we have omitted.

When he had effected all this evil he dissolved the treaty between the Georgians and Armenians. He would not suffer the Albanians to go forward, and he also retained possession of the land of the Akhznians. He further proclaimed an address in the land of the Greeks, to a man named Vasag, of the house of the Mamigonians, who were under the dominion of the Greeks, and he wrote nothing but treachery and lies. This man was unfortunately at that time Sbarabed of Lower, or Little Armenia: to him the Roman troops in the provinces towards Persia were resigned, and by his proceedings he shewed himself far removed from the law of God. The one Vasag found in the other Vasag an associate for effecting great misery, and hence they entered into an alliance together.^(*) A.D. 461.

He proclaimed and announced in all directions that all the Armenians were united under him; and a similar manifesto was given by him to his confidant, Vasag, that it might be carried to the capital of the Imperial realms, for the purpose of shaking the intention of the holy bishops and withdrawing the whole force of the Greeks from the league. Chiefly he sought, by means of false priests, to deceive and mislead the people; endeavouring to cloak, as it were, all his Satanic treachery towards these unsuspecting men, with the gospel and the cross. He insinuated himself among the ranks of the believers on all sides, and was every where with the apostates. Thus he collected around him a power mightier than the whole force of the Armenians:—he swore and gave assurances, and shewed to all letters of favour from the court.

The Grecian kingdom was already inclined to listen to this announcement, and by it they were entirely changed. In the same manner, he acted with the occupiers of fortresses in all directions: with the Dmorik, the Gortigk, the Arzakh, the Albanians, the Georgians, and with the land of the Chaldaeans.^(*) He sent to them to request that no one might grant hospitality to refugees.

Circumstances so far favoured his extraordinarily base proceedings, that the Armenians were deprived of all foreign and external aid, with the exception of the Huns, with whom they still continued in friendly relation. Wherefore he assembled a large army of Arians against them, and took possession of the narrow passes. He gave the king of the Persians no rest till he had placed a large force in the watch-fortresses of Djor, and led an assembled force against the land of the Georgians; against the Likhniens, Djokhprians, Vadians, Kavians, Khuarians, Khersanians, Hedjmadagians, Phaskhians, Phoskhians, Phükonians, and against all the power of the Thavasparanians; against that of the inhabitants of the mountains and the valleys, and against all the mountain-fortresses.^(*) Some he incited by presents and great honours, and he freely dispensed the largesses of the king, while some he terrified by the severity of the royal commands.

A.D. 541. He daily wrote to the great Hasarabed of the Persians, who kept himself shut up and concealed in the city of Phaidagaran, to inform him how he was thus ordering all things conformably to the will of the mighty king. Whereupon the latter arose and shewed himself to all the people, filling one part with terror and distributing bountiful presents among the other. He called Vasag and all the princes his adherents before him ; he gave them many royal largesses, and also the army which was with them. Vasag presented to him the priests before all, and explained, that by them he had entrapped the others, and had made them to fall away from the league. When the Chiliarch heard this he became exceeding gracious to the priests, and made them great promises. " Should we conquer," said he, " the possessions of the other priests will be distributed among you, and " care will be taken to represent your great services to the king."

Such was the commotion and disturbance caused by him in Armenia, that he estranged brothers one from the other, separated the son from his father, and excited tumult in the midst of peace. Two of his nephews were in his province, who were true to the holy faith of the Apostles. He denounced them to the court, seized their principalities and other possessions, banished them from the country, and forbade them ever to return. He persecuted and tortured all the hermits in the land who cursed his unalterable iniquity. He did all possible injury to the cause of truth, and whatever the unbelieving heathens knew not they were taught by him ; that is, with regard to the Christian belief, by what treacherous attempts they might succeed in eradicating it from Armenia.

Now when Mihrnerseh saw all this evil brought about by Vasag (more, indeed, than he himself had hoped from him), he sent to inquire of him what number of troops Vartan might have under his command throughout Armenia. Having learned that they amounted to more than 60,000, he also required information as to the bravery of every one, the number of those who were fully equipped among them, and how many were unarmed, or armed with bows only. He further informed himself concerning the infantry who were provided with shields.

When he had made himself acquainted with these circumstances, he sought to discover how many chiefs of the nobility there were among them, that they might be dealt with on the spot. He also inquired concerning the different banners ; of how many divisions the army consisted ; what officers there were ; what general would command on either side in the battle ; how the battalions of one thousand men were called ; how often the trumpets would be blown in the army ; whether they had cast up intrenchments or were encamped openly ; if they marched in battle-order or proceeded together in a line ; who among them were prepared, and who undecided, for delivering themselves over to death.

Having satisfied himself on all these points, he called his officers around him, and

and commanded them all, in his presence, to hearken to his (that is, Vasag's) orders, and over all the officers of the army he appointed besides him one of the nobles, by name Mushgan Nüsalavurd. He himself set forth towards the East and appeared before the great king, to whom he related all the occurrences which had taken place. He reported his own artful cunning and the deceptive skill of Vasag, how he had at first concealed his iniquity in order to effect the disunion of the Armenian people. Now when the king heard all this from the lips of the Great Hasarabed, he revolved it in his mind and swore the following inviolable oath: "I will rid myself of this heresy by a great battle, and by means of great torments make it taste of the cup of bitterest death!" A.D. 451.

CHAPTER V.

OF THE INSURRECTION IN THE COUNTRY TOWARDS THE EAST.⁽¹⁾

A.D. 451. THE love of God is greater than all earthly greatness, and makes men as undaunted as the incorporeal hosts of angels, as we may remark in numerous instances. Men who are armed by the love of God, though they should be ignorant, spiritless, and cowardly, can endure all sufferings; death, as well as the plunder of their possessions—the murder of those whom they love, no less than the imprisonment of their relatives. They abandon their paternal country and repair to a foreign land, regarding all such miseries as nothing, only for continuing united unto God and not being led forth in bondage from him. Him whom in their souls they have chosen they hold as more than all visible greatness. Apostacy they look on as death—and death, for God, as an immortal life. Slavery on earth they esteem the liberty of their lives; and to be cast into banishment, they call being in secret with God, *as we have seen in modern times with our own eyes*, for acts no less distinguished were performed in the land of the Armenians. Though the great Vartan was well aware of the doubtful state of his native land, (for the disbelief of the timorous had not escaped him) and though he well knew the undecided spirit of those who were attached to him; still his valour did not fail, and he endeavoured to encourage the army under him. Assisted by the unanimous concurrence of the princes who had not fallen away from the holy league, he took the royal residences by assault. He commanded all the troops to assemble in the city Ardashad; and in place of those who had remained behind, and had joined the prince of Sünik, he appointed his brothers, sons, and nephews, and gave each of them a strong force, in order that he might bring the entire country under his dominion.⁽²⁾

With all expedition they now repaired to the battle-field, with their troops and all the requisites for war; these, and all those who had always been stationed there: Nershapuh, the Ardsrunian; Khoren, the Khorkhorhunian, and the Sparabed himself (namely, Vartan the Mamigonian); Ardag, the Balunian; Vahan, the Amadunian, and the troops of the Vahevunians; Thathul, the Timaksian; Arshavir, the Arsharunian; Shmavon, the Artzavazian; Dashad, the Kuthunian; Adom, the Krunian; Khosroh, the Capekheanian; Garen, the

the Saharunian; Hmairag, the Timaksian; and also another Timaksian, Kasrigh; Nerseh, the Kachperunian; Pharsman, the Mantagunian; Arsen, the Entzaizian; Airug, the Selgunian; Vren, the Dashrazian; Aprsam, the Ardsrunian; Shah, the master of the royal horse; Khur, the Sruantsdian; the Kokheanians, the Akeazians, the Debadunians, and all the royal retainers, with their companies.^(*) All these came with their forces to battle in the plain of Artass.^(*) They assembled to the number of sixty-six thousand men, horse and foot. With them came saint Joseph, the priest Leont, many other priests, and a crowd of deacons; for these feared not to take part with their brethren in battle. Not, indeed, that they deemed earthly strife to be suited to them, but they wished to be present for the spiritual encouragement of the valiant troops prepared for death.

The Sparabed began to speak to the allied princes and their followers, and said: "I have been in many battles, and you also with me; we have sometimes bravely vanquished the foe—sometimes they have vanquished us, but often have we been conquerors without being conquered. But on all these occasions we have thought only of worldly distinction, and we fought merely at the command of a mortal king. Whoever fled was dishonoured in his name throughout the land, and was given over to death unpitied; but he who distinguished himself by bravery was revered by all the people, and received great honours from a perishable and mortal sovereign. Behold, we have all many wounds and scars upon our persons; and great must have been our bravery to have won these great marks of honour. But useless and empty I deem those exploits whereby we have received these honourable marks, for they pass away. If, however, you have done such valiant deeds in obedience to a mortal ruler, how much more will you do them for our immortal King, who is Lord of life and death, and who judges every one according to his works. Far be it from us to think that we grow old: rather let us quickly leave our bodies, that we may go to the living God and never be separated from him more.

"Now, therefore, I entreat you, my brave companions; and the more so as you—albeit in bravery, worth, and inherited honours, greater than I—have of your own free will and out of your love elected me your leader and chief;—I entreat that my words may be favourably received by the high and the low. Fear not the numbers of the heathens; withdraw not your necks from the terrific sword of a mortal man, in order that the Lord may give the victory into our hands, that we may annihilate their power and lift on high the standard of truth. Should the object of our lives be completed by a holy death in battle, let us meet it with a joyful heart. May no cowardice shew itself in the midst of our valiant deeds.

"Although

A.D. 451. “ Although by me it is not to be forgotten, yet will I recall to my own remembrance, and to that of some among you, how we outwitted the tyrannical prince; how we treated him as a simple child, as a senseless boy; how we accommodated ourselves to his impious will by seeming apostacy, though in secret we were true to God, as he himself will testify. This, also, you all know, that we, for the sake of our friends, who were in great affliction, and for their peace, took flight by stratagem, in order that we might join their struggle against the tyrannical prince. Had we been unable to assist them, it is impossible that we could have thought of changing God for men out of love to our friends.

“ In two and three battles the Lord himself hath stood by us with great power; so that we have earned for ourselves the surname of the brave, that we have sent the king’s troops home in disgrace, that we have massacred the Magi without mercy, and on every side extinguished the absurdity of fire-worship. We have neutralized and rent in pieces the tyrannical order of the king; we have humbled the roaring sea-storm, dispersed the mountain waves and the foaming surge, and set bounds to the raging of bestial fury.”*

All this was said by the valiant general in presence of the whole assembly: and he further comforted and encouraged each of them in particular, and sought to relieve all their necessities. Whatever was wanting to the soldiers he endeavoured to supply by himself or his friends. To him who was unarmed he sent armour; to him who was unclothed, he gave clothing; and gave a steed to him who wanted one. With abundant pay he rejoiced them all, and acted royally towards the multitude. He ordered the troops to march before him in battle array, and promptly called the brave men by their names. As he from childhood had been well versed in the holy Scriptures, he now took the sacred volume, and in presence of all read aloud the valorous deeds of the Maccabees, explaining in touching terms the progress of events; how, for the law of God, they had fought against king Antiochus; that, though they had suffered death, the remembrance of their bravery had been preserved till the present day, and that they were immortal not only on earth but in heaven also. He reminded the Armenians how the party of Matathias had withdrawn from the union, complied with the king’s command, built heathenish temples,⁽⁴⁾ and made disgraceful offerings; how they fell away from God and suffered a terrible defeat from the holy league; but how Matathias and they who were with him were not discouraged, but strengthened themselves, and were more and more eager for the battle. All this he said, and then took his station on the plain, arranging his troops and surrounding them on every side with the cavalry.

After

* A portion of the speech is here omitted which contains spiritual reflections.

After several days the Persian general, with the whole mass of the heathens, came into the land of the Armenians to Her and Saravant.⁽⁹⁾ He halted in this province, set up his tents, raised fortifications, dug trenches, built wooden pallisadoes, and secured the camp with all possible apparatus. He separated several corps from his army, whom he sent forth to forage and plunder, and intended to lay waste all the provinces. A.D. 461.

When the Armenian army heard this, a noble of the house of the Amadunians, by name Aranzar, selected the bravest and most prudent troops from the whole army, and with two thousand men fell on the numerous host, and defeated them, and drove them back into the camp. He, himself returned uninjured, and this was a great day of joy and festivity in the Armenian army.

According to his former faithless proceeding, the treacherous Vasag now again employed falsehood and deceit, seeking by apostate priests, as we have already related, to accomplish his design. By order of the king he gave them the charge, and administered to them an oath to act against Christianity. Although he had attempted this for several days, he was still unable to dissolve the league,—and he especially failed in his endeavours against the holy union of the church which never separated itself from the army. The excellent priest Leont received from his holy friends, Joseph the Great, and from all the distinguished priests and officers, a commission to come forward: he accordingly stood forth, and with a loud voice delivered a touching discourse before the ambassadors.* And when the holy priest Leont had finished his discourse at night, and had said *Amen*, all prepared themselves by holy meditation before the altar; all the Catechumens in the army were baptized during the night, and on the following morning they received the holy Eucharist, and were surrounded with light like the ruling, great, sacred Paschal lamb. The whole army rejoiced exceedingly, and said: “May our death be like “ to the death of the just, and may the shedding of our blood resemble the blood- “ shedding of the prophets!—May God look down in mercy on our voluntary self- “ offering, and may he not deliver the church into the hands of the heathens!”

* I have omitted the sermon.

CHAPTER VI.

THE SECOND BATTLE OF THE ARMENIANS AGAINST THE KING
OF THE PERSIANS.

A.D. 451. WHEN the leader of the Persians saw that his emissaries, sent to entrap the Armenians by stratagem, were driven away by them, and that he was obliged to relinquish his hope of dissolving their firm union, he summoned Vasag and all the apostate princes who were in Armenia, and questioned and enquired of them concerning the means of overcoming the enemy. After he had become acquainted with each of them according to his deeds, he collected all the officers who were under him, commanded the troops of elephants to advance, which he divided according to the several banners, and ordered, beside the other troops, three thousand lancers to each elephant. He then spoke with the nobles according to the royal command, and said: "Let all remember the ordinance of the king, and be desirous of renown for bravery before the gods. Choose death rather than a life of shame: and be mindful of the costly oil and crowns, of the wine, and the precious marks of honour which will be given you by the court. You will be rulers of provinces, and possessors of mighty principalities: you well know the valour of the Armenians, and the courage of each among them! O that you may not be overcome! that you may not descend from your high station in life, so far as to be deprived of the means of living! Remember your wives and sons; remember the friends whom you love, that they become not a jest for foreign enemies." He also reminded them of many of their friends who had fled from battle, and who had been sentenced to die by the sword, while their sons and daughters, and their entire families were placed on the footing of strangers, and were deprived of their inheritances.

He said this, and still more, to impress upon them the purport of the royal order. He then arranged and prepared his army for battle, and spread his vanguard
across

across all the large plain. On the right and left wing was one of the wild beasts, surrounded by three thousand lancers; and around himself he collected such a body of valiant warriors, that his force seemed like a strong castle, or an inaccessible fortress. He distributed the banners, ordered the flags to wave, and all to be prepared at the sound of the great trumpet. The troops of the Abarhaigs, of the Gadjians, of the Huns, of the Kekhians,⁽¹⁾ and all the other chosen troops, he assembled in one place, and commanded them to be in readiness to break in with the right wing on the Armenian army.

Meanwhile, the brave Vartan approached, consulted with the nobles, and disposed his officers to the general satisfaction. The first division he entrusted to the prince of the Ardsrunians, to whom, as adjutant-general, he gave the great prince of the Moghians. These two he placed generally over all the princes, and over the whole army. The second division he placed under Khoren, the Khorkhorhunan; to whom he gave, as adjutant-general, Nerseh, the Katchperunian. The third division he gave to Thathul, the Vanantezian; and appointed Dashad, the Kenthunian, his adjutant-general. Many other brave men he distributed in different parts. He himself took the fourth division, with the valiant Arshavir and his brother Hamasesbean, as adjutant-generals; he appointed out-posts, and commanded that the Arians should be resisted on the shore of the river Dekhmud.

Thus prepared on either side, and seized with mighty rage, they burnt with wild fury, and rushed against each other. As when from the clashing clouds thunder breaks forth, and the peal resounds through hills and vales, so loudly cried the combatants on every side. The glancing of the numerous helmets of the warriors rivalled the beams of the sun; the flashing of the many swords and spears was like the gleam of the fearful flames of heaven. But who shall describe the terrible sound of this frightful noise, when all hearers were deafened by the whizzing of arrows and the clash of shields?

Now there was great wrath and vast slaughter on both sides, and they smote each other with reckless fury. Though the timid were terrified, and the cowardly fled from the field, the brave continued their destructive strife, and the courageous loudly shouted. A great force of the dauntless Persians collectively plunged into the river, and began to establish itself at a difficult pass, when the Armenians came up with their cavalry, and fell on them with great power. The struggle was terrible on the one side and on the other, and a heap of wounded fell on the earth, and those who had fallen cried aloud.

Amid this great confusion, the brave Vartan was seen every where.

A.D. 451. ceiving that a chosen body of Persians had fallen on the left wing of the Armenians, he hastily attacked the right wing of the Persians, which he scattered, together with the elephants. He put them to flight, and pursued them, with great slaughter, to the place whence they had set forth. So great was their disorder, that the main body itself was routed, and torn from its secure encampment, and every one betook himself as swiftly as possible to flight.

The general, Mushgan Nisalavurd, observing some scattered Armenians who had remained behind in the defiles, he called to the Arian troops around him, which maintained the place against the troop of Vartan, and encouraged them. Then on both sides they did penance for their sins: dead bodies being piled on high, like walls of stone. Mushgan Nisalavurd seeing this, ordered Ardashir, who was on the wild beast, as in a high watch-tower, or as in a fortified city, to incite his troops by a loud trumpet sound, and he himself plunged among the foremost ranks. Not a little injury did the brave Vartan and his allies then sustain, and he himself was found worthy of martyrdom on the spot. The battle was protracted, the day dawned, and night approached. Bodies were heaped around like fallen cedars. On all sides were broken spears and shattered bows, wherefore the sacred bodies of the blessed could not be recognized, there being a vast multitude from both sides. The survivors dispersed themselves among the hills and fortified castles. Wheresoever any of the opposing parties met, they slew each other; and this horrid butchery continued incessantly till the going down of the sun.

June 2.

It was then spring time, and the blooming meadows were destroyed by the crowd. The heart must bleed at the sight of the heaps of corpses; and in lamentation must the beholder necessarily break forth when hearing the wail of the wounded, the last moan of the dying, the fall of the overtaken, the flight of the coward, the concealment of the fugitives, the fear of unmanly men, the screams of women, the mourning of children and little ones, the sorrow of relatives, the weeping of women and friends—he who saw and heard all this, could not refrain from lamentation. There was no distinction, whether of the victors or the vanquished; wherever the brave of both sides met, there were victims.

Now when the leader of the Armenians had fallen in the battle, there was no longer any head round which the fugitive host of the survivors could assemble; for the number of those who fled was greater than that of those who remained. They were scattered, and threw themselves into the strong holds of the mountains.

of the country, and ruled all the districts and fortresses which could not be taken. A.D. 451.

And these are the names of the brave heroes who perished there: Of the house of the Mamigonians, the brave Vartan, with one hundred and thirty-three; of the house of the Khorkhorhunians, the heroic Khorin, with nineteen; of the house of the Balunians, the powerful Ardag, with fifty-seven; of the house of the Kirthunians, the wonderful Dashar, with nineteen; of the house of the Kimaksenians, the prudent Hmainag, with twenty-two; of the house of the Kathrerunians, the wonderful Nerseh, with twenty-seven; of the house of the Kinunians, the youthful Vahan, with three; of the house of the Endsainians, the just Arsen, with seven; of the house of the Sruandsdians, the aspiring Karekin, with two full brothers and eighteen men. These two hundred and eighty-seven heroes perished there, with the distinguished princes. Of the royal house of the Arkhagunians or Arsacides, of that of the Ardsrunians, and of the other princely houses together, there remained, beside the two hundred and eighty-seven, yet other seven hundred and forty men, who have inscribed their names in the book of life by the great battle on this day. In the whole, there fell one thousand and thirty-six.^(*)

On the side of the unbelievers, on this day there fell 3544: among whom were nine very distinguished men, on whose account Mushgan Nisalavurd was much troubled; for he now saw the extraordinary misfortune, that the loss of his army was seven times as great as that of the Armenians,* and that his power had failed. He could not banish the thought that the affair had not fallen out as he had anticipated. After he had caused the numbers of the slain on his side to be taken up, and had found such a proportion between those who had fallen on his side and on that of the Armenian army, he became very sad; but was chiefly grieved for the distinguished men whom the king knew by person and name. He feared to communicate the truth to the king, or to represent things as they really were; and yet he could not conceal it, for so great a battle can never be hidden.

While he was thus inwardly ruminating, and disturbed in his soul, the apostate Vasag, who had crept among the wild beasts, came forward, and was to him a comforter for his anxious mind. He taught him stratagems, whereby he might take the fortified castles. On the order of the king, and on his own testimony, and on that of the apostate priests who were with him, he swore an oath

* There must be some error in the writing of the numbers, as this statement does not agree with the foregoing.

A.D. 451. oath, and sent forth messengers, who announced that the king, on the ceasing of the insurrection, had granted permission for the building of churches, and for establishing all things under the same arrangement as formerly. But though the order of the king was in this instance truly followed, yet belief was not immediately given to this order, since the forces of both parties were broken, and the Armenians, through many former deceptions, had long known the treachery of Vasag.

CHAPTER VII.

A FURTHER ACCOUNT OF THE BRAVERY OF THE ARMENIANS, AND
OF THE INIQUITY OF THE GODLESS VASAG.

Now Vasag urged Mushgan Nisalavurd and all the Persian nobles to place themselves at the head of the army, and to seize the strong hold within which the Armenian troops, with their priests, had retired. They accordingly did so, and there was warfare all around on every side of the fortress. When, however, they found that they could not injure the besieged, recourse was again had to the swearing of oaths; and they promised the Christians that nothing should be done to molest them, if they would dissolve the union. As this joyful intelligence was incessantly proclaimed, the priests took it on themselves to renounce the league, though most of the officers refused to believe in the false oath of Vasag, for Mushgan Nisalavurd proceeded according to the evil counsels of Vasag. A.D. 451.

One of the brave Armenian warriors, who, after the flight had taken refuge in this strong hold, and whose name was Pag, entered the enemy's entrenchments, advanced to the apostate, and in presence of the Persian leader, reproached him with all the evil which he had brought on the Armenian nation. Many heard him, and attested his complaints;—not Armenians only, but still more those belonging to the Persian army. The same man went on that same night out of the fortress with seven hundred men, and they could not capture him. Although those who remained behind well knew that the oath was but deception, yet they had no provisions left. . . .⁽¹⁾ As their surrender was not voluntary, two hundred and thirteen men among them were condemned to death. These all exclaimed aloud, and said: "We thank thee, O Lord our God, that thou hast held us worthy of thy heavenly call, if only the church remain full of the faithful, and the temple of belief be uninjured, and the holy apostolic church united. We thank thee that thou wilt consider our death as the death of valiant heroes, that thou wilt mingle our blood with the blood of the wounded who have died, and that thou hast
" been

A.D. 451. " been well pleased with the number of the spontaneous offerings of the church
 " who have advanced to thy holy altar." After they had said this, the two
 hundred and thirteen men were put to death on the spot.

When the holy priests who were in the fortress—the blessed Joseph and Leont and their numerous friends—were brought forth, and their necks were about to be given over to the sword of the executioner, they said the same as the two hundred had said. The blessed had not fixed their eyes in the smallest degree on the life of the body, but they in their wisdom sought only for means to secure the welfare of the whole church: for which reason, they appealed to the court, and charged all the blame on the iniquitous Vasag. When Mushgan Nisalavurd heard this, he dared not lay his hand on them to slay them. He ordered Joseph and Leont to be scourged and carefully guarded, since they had appealed to the royal court. With regard to the other priests, they were dismissed, each to his home, and orders were given for recultivating and pacifying the country.

✓ The Armenian population which had conformed to the insecure order of the king, and of the sinful apostate Vasag, placed no confidence whatever in the treacherous permission; but they encouraged each other mutually, and said: " Is then this perishable life needful to us, wherefore do we still look
 " upward to the sun after our beloved ones have departed? Our brave leaders
 " have fallen in the great battle; the mass of the wounded fell in their
 " gore on the plain; all their bodies are the prey of the birds, and the
 " savage beasts. Unmerited misfortune has overtaken our illustrious princes;
 " they have abandoned their possessions and suffered the bitterest persecu-
 " tions; and thus is the joy of Armenia changed into mourning and boundless
 " misery. Therefore we will pay no regard to this faithless announcement,
 " nor deliver ourselves into the hands of these impious princes—(*i. e.* of Mush-
 " gan and Vasag)."

Hereupon they quitted their homes, their cities, and boroughs; the bride left her couch and the bridegroom his chamber; the old abandoned their chairs and the infants their mothers' breast; the youths and the maidens, and all the men and women arose and fled to inaccessible fastnesses, and to impregnable places among the mountains. To them, a life led like that of the wild beasts in caves, with the fear of God, seemed better than comfort in their dwellings if purchased by apostacy. Without murmuring they lived upon herbs, and forgot their accustomed flesh-meals; the caves they considered like the chambers of their lofty dwellings, and the subterranean abodes like their ornamented halls. The songs which they sang were psalms, and they read the
 sacred

Sacred Scriptures with perfect joy. Each was to himself a church—each was to himself a priest; their bodies served them for the holy altar, and their souls were the offering. No one mourned despairingly for those executed by the sword, nor were any greatly troubled for their nearest friends. With peace of soul they suffered the loss of all their goods, and it never occurred to their recollection that they had once possessed them. Patiently they endured all fatigues, and met every attack with great valour, although they looked forward to no joyful hope, and had no means of accomplishing any great feat of arms; for the greater number of their most distinguished princes, their brothers, sons, and daughters, with many of their friends, were scattered in various places of security. Some were in the gloomy land of the Chaldæans, many others in the Southern Provinces, in the unapproachable fastnesses of the Dmorian; a part were in the dense forests of Ardsakh, while others lived in the central parts of the country in various mountain-castles. All bore their sufferings with much patience, fixing their hopes on God, and only imploring of him that he might not suffer them to witness the fall of the Holy Church.

Much has already been related concerning the iniquity of the wicked Vasag, and more yet remains. He assembled the Persian troops from the various territories of the Armenians, that they, according to the king's command, might come to the assistance of the army. A multitude of soldiers collected, who supplied the place of those who had fallen in the battle, so that the number was as great as in the beginning. At first they turned towards the middle of the country, where they invested and attacked the great fortress on the hill Zabrid.⁽⁹⁾ Those who were within fought with great bravery, and slew a great portion of the Persian army, and the remainder fled back to their camp. Then they (Vasag and Mushgan) again had recourse to solicitation, and sought to overcome them by art and deceit.

No one trusted to them, lest he might be surrendering himself into the hands of a wicked foe, when a priest, named Arshehn, felt himself bound by his oath to go to them. He spoke with them, entreated them together with his companions, and endeavoured to show that the flight of these innocent ones was not punishable. He spoke about pity before the apostate Vasag, and ardently reminded him of his former connections with the Christians, that he might at least in some measure mitigate the insupportable evils which they endured. But Vasag lent no ear to these words; he scoffed at the venerable man and at all those who were come with him, and caused them to be bound.

It was manifest that the General (Mushgan) suffered himself to be guided by the councils of Vasag, and on all sides bands were seen, who took prisoners

A.D. 451. all those who were outside the fortresses (and these formed a great number), and burnt the provisions in every direction. When those who were in the strongholds of Dmorik heard of all these evils perpetrated by the royal army, they deemed their life within the mountain-castles useless, and, breaking out bravely to the assistance of their brethren, they turned towards the adjacent land of the Persians, where they ravaged without mercy, killed a portion of the people, and took the rest prisoners and carried them to their castles. The edifices and provisions of the country which they conquered were given to the flames.

October.

When also they who were in the Chaldæan mountains⁽¹⁾ saw the shameless outrages of the Persian army, they fearlessly descended from their forts into Armenia, falling with great power on the valley of Daik, where they met with a large division of the royal army, who wished to plunder the fortresses of the country, believing that there the princes had hidden their treasures, in which belief they incessantly attacked those places. Seeing that the church was set fire to in two places, they burnt still more in rage; they rushed to the attack, triumphed by the power of their steadfast will, repulsing the Persian army, and slaying many of them, and driving the rest out of the country. In this powerful attack only Hmayeag, brother of the Armenian general Vartan, obtained by reckless valour the crown of martyrdom for the cause of the holy league: all the others escaped unhurt, and pursued the fugitives.

After all this had been accomplished, the devastating rage of the Persians gradually subsided; they thenceforth spared the churches, and further application was made to the court.

Those also who had fled to the forests of Arzakh were in no degree inactive. On the contrary, they sent into the land of the Huns, and stirred up the troops of the latter country, reminding them of their treaty entered into with the Armenians, and of the inviolable oath which they had sworn. This speech they all rejoiced to hear; and they were even displeased that the Christians had not come to them before the battle, in order that, as formerly, they might have undertaken some enterprize together. They then assembled a large army and broke into the Persian kingdom, where they laid waste various provinces, and made very many prisoners, whom they carried over into their country. This convinced the king of their agreement with the Armenian army.

The Persian leader being made acquainted with all these circumstances, became highly incensed, and in his great rage heaped all the blame on the apostate Vasag, as being the cause and origin of all the evil which had come to pass. He took all possible precautions, decamped, and proceeded to Persia, having first written and truly represented the state of affairs, attributing all blame to the apostate.

When

When the king had heard of the desolation of the entire country, and had been truly informed of the issue of the great battle, he was transported with excessive rage. He altered his usual treacherous mind, inquired into the loss consequent on his senseless procedure, and wishing to see all things with his own eyes, he exclaimed, "Who will tell me the truth as regards these circumstances?" The Chiliarch Mihnērseh, who well knew the iniquity of the conduct which had been pursued, first stood forward and said: "This do I counsel thee, oh excellent king! If thou wilt with certainty learn the fact—let the chiefs of the Christians from Armenia be summoned before thee, for they will be to thee of great assistance, and will relate all things according to truth."

At the same time he wrote to a certain noble, named Adromissd, whose province was near to the Armenian country, and who in the battle had been in alliance with the Persian leader, appointing him to the Margraviate of Armenia. Mushgan Nisalavurd, with the rest of the army, were sent to garrison Albania, Liphnia, Djikhpak, Hedjmadag, Thavasbark, Khpiovan,^(c) and to all the provinces which had been wasted by the army of the Huns through the alliance of the latter with the Armenians. The king was exceedingly troubled, not only on account of the devastation of the country and the annihilation of the army, but more than all because of the destruction of the fortified watch, which had been built at vast labour in times of remote antiquity, and was thus in his reign so easily taken and dismantled; nor was it easy to conceive how it could now be restored. But Vasag and the Christian chiefs were summoned to the court.

The Margrave Adromissd came joyfully into Armenia, and conformably to the king's command, he called the holy Bishop of the Rhesdunians, Sahag, before him, in order to receive his information respecting the wrongs complained of. Although this bishop had destroyed a pyreum, and caused much suffering to the fire-worshippers, still he had no fear in appearing before the public tribunal. Nor did the virtuous priest of the house of the Ardsrunians, named Mushe,^(c) who was the first in the province of the Ardsrunians, and who had also destroyed a pyreum, and had persecuted the Magi in every possible manner, feel the slightest fear in appearing before the Margrave. And two other venerable priests, named Samuel and Abraham, who had overthrown the pyreum in Adrashad, and had been formerly thrown into prison by the apostate Vasag, were on the present occasion led forth with their friends, Joseph the Great, Leont, Kadjadj, and Arshen, also assembled at the same place. When the Margrave had heard all, he wrote to the king, laying before him the whole truth as he had heard it from their lips.

Vasag, however, hastened first to the court, and artfully went from one to the other,

A.D. 451. other, relating nothing but falsehood. Notwithstanding all this, he could not acquit himself before the king, who always answered him in these words : "When the Christians arrive, I will examine you before the public tribunal."

A.D. 452. As the holy priests were brought in chains, two months and twenty days elapsed before they arrived at the winter-residence of the king. When the great Chiliarch heard of their arrival, he himself went to see them, and having heard all from them, he dared not lay hands on them to punish them ; for the greater part of the Armenian princes still kept possession of the strong mountain castles, and the Margrave was in perpetual fear. On this account, he gave orders that the priests should be carefully attended to, and that the land should be subjected by love, to which end he granted unbounded freedom in matters of belief.

An order was issued for the re-establishment of the bishops in their sees, that they might perform worship as formerly, and appear unmolested in public. Even offerings and gifts were presented to them as before. As most of the provinces had been laid waste by the army, the Margrave ordered a remission of their tribute, and set them free for a certain period from the military service. He commanded that the monasteries which had been destroyed should be rebuilt, each on its former site ; and proclaimed that all the observances in the worship of God, which had been followed by our forefathers, should be again restored. "If any one have fled from the land, be he a noble, a priest, or one of the common inhabitants, I am empowered by the court," so said the Margrave, "to invite all who are yet alive to return, that they may take possession of their property." This he confirmed by an oath, and caused it to be announced in all the provinces. Many hereupon presented themselves, and their property was restored to them.

✓ But what was more than all, an order came from court, commanding that those who had embraced the doctrine of the Magi should be forcibly compelled to return to Christianity. The king himself spoke aloud, as follows, before all those who were at the court : "Whoever is not with all his heart attached to the belief of the Massteses is subject to the wrath of God, and will receive no favour from me. Now, I issue the same order for every province, that every one be free according to the inclination of his soul, and worship what he chooses, for all are alike my subjects." This said he, and issued a written order throughout the land.

When many who were scattered in distant parts heard and beheld all this, they returned and took possession of their goods. The princes who were in their castles and afar off in foreign lands, saw the restoration of the country, and especially the freedom of belief, and took courage. They arose in a body

body and wished to appear before the king; for which purpose they despatched a messenger to the Margrave, soliciting that the wishes of the princes should be made known at court. He immediately, and by order of the king, sent to them a letter of pardon, and a promise of perfect security for the future. Although they well knew the rancour of the government and the all-prevailing treachery, still they were willing to be companions in suffering with the holy priests, and if death itself had stood before them they would have been undismayed.

When the king heard this, he commanded them to be brought before him, not in bands, but free hand and foot. Their wives and children, their goods and property, they then delivered up into the hands of the Margrave, and themselves hastened to the winter residence of the king.

While the king continued at his residence, he commanded a court of inquisition to be held over them, at which the Chiliarch Mihrnerseh presided, that he might hear both sides of the question. This inquiry lasted several days, and the party of the apostates was brought to shame. The letters which Vasag and all those who were with him had written, and by which they were joined with him in treachery, were brought to light; namely, a letter to Georgia, one to Albania, one also to Akhdsnik, an epistle to the Emperor of the Greeks, and to the great general Antiochus; ⁽⁶⁾ all which letters were furnished with Vasag's own seal. He had also part in the death of the Magi in Ssarehawan; ⁽⁷⁾ and it was clear that, in conformity with his letters and orders (for he was at the time Margrave of the country), many castles had been wrested from the Persians. Even the messenger whom he had sent to the Greeks, namely, one Adam, of the race of the Knunians, appeared against him in the public court, with the letters bearing his (Vasag's) own seal. Mushgan Nisalavurd also stood forth and charged him with treachery, declaring, together with his companions in arms, that Vasag had, even after the battle, given cause to much bloodshed; that he had betrayed many by false oaths, and allured them from their strongholds, of which he took possession, executing or imprisoning many who were the subjects of the king. In addition to all which, it was proved that he had been guilty of peculation, with regard to tributes which should have been forwarded to the court.

Many of the associates of the apostate further testified that he had occasioned great wretchedness in Armenia. The rest of the Magi and of the royal guard who had escaped from imprisonment, were brought to court, and were asked concerning him: "Know you any thing of his ill conduct?" They answered and said: "All the misery which has come upon us, all the distress which has overtaken the royal army, the plunder and destruction of Armenia, the misappropriation of the royal tribute,—all these must be attributed to this man, who is the cause and origin of all this evil."

This

A.D. 452. This general complaint against him was considered during several days, and his relatives, who had formerly complained against him before the king, were examined. These explained all things from the beginning to the end, and showed how he had been in friendship with Herhan the Hun, and had entered into an open alliance with the king of Pakhasagan ;⁽⁹⁾ how Herhan at a convenient opportunity had discomfited the armies of the Persians in Albania, had attacked and plundered the land of the Greeks, and had carried away much booty from the land of the Romans, from Armenia, Georgia, and Albania, till Vasag himself, fearing lest the king might become acquainted with his proceedings, slew the ruler of Pakhasagan. Thus Vasag was proved to have been in alliance with the enemy at the very time when he was Margrave of Armenia. His relatives declared that his evil designs were all known to them ; and they brought to light a multitude of other frauds committed by this man, not only against his equals, but even against the king himself, his chief ruler, for since his early days he had never troubled himself concerning the truth.

Now the Chiliarch gave the following command : “ Bring before us the prisoners who are lying yonder in chains.” Accordingly, they set free and brought before him Sahag, bishop of the Rheshdunians, the holy Joseph, and the priest Leont. When all things had been read to them in open court, the bishop Sahag gave the following answer :⁽⁹⁾ “ They who believe not in the truth of God, know not what they do nor what they say, for their spirits are darkened ; they serve their master deceitfully, and betray their friends by a treacherous alliance ; they are given over to the snare of Satan, that he may entangle them with their evil will, as is clearly manifest in the case of this Vasag, who was a Christian only in name, hiding his full iniquity from your unenlightened rule. All his lies and deceit he covered with the garb of Christianity. Wherefore you placed your trust in him, and exalted him above his merits, confiding to him the land of Georgia : ask if they be well pleased with him. You have given him the government of Sünik : listen to his relatives themselves who are present, and hear what they relate concerning him. You have made him Margrave of Armenia—a land which your forefathers conquered by great exertion : in one year he has laid it waste. Judge, if the name of God could have been exalted by such a man, who was encompassed by falsehood, as is shown by his now-exposed iniquity. He who is found false to his God, before what man can he be found just ?

“ But have you not before heard all the charges which resound against this man to-day ? You yourselves best know with what view you have kept them secret. It appears to me that he has restrained you by fallacious hopes, which neither you, nor he, nor any one who shall come after you, can

“ can ever see verified in us. Wherefore deal with this man as you will—why enquire ye of us ?” A.D. 452.

The great Chiliarch admired his sentiments, and closely enquired into the words of the law. As it was now determined to judge Vasag according to his worthless deeds, the Chiliarch made the sentence of the tribunal known at court. When the king heard this, and had received certain information from the Chiliarch concerning the treachery of that man, he became enraged, and declared, in great fury, that he would deliberate before deciding on this great offender. Nothing was done during twelve days, when at length an enquiry into the treason followed.

And on a great day he commanded all the noble and distinguished to assemble together. The apostate was also summoned, who, agreeable to the former law, appeared in the full dignity which he had received from the king. He was furnished with all the insignia of honour: he had a gold tiara on his head,⁽¹⁾ and a heavy massive chain of gold, embellished with pearls and other rare ornaments; ear-rings in his ears, a collar round his neck, a robe of sables over his shoulders; and arrayed in all the other marks of his dignity, he repaired to the court, and shone forth among the whole assembly.

The princes who had of their own accord come from Armenia, and had submitted themselves to examination, as also the priests who were already there, were kept together in chains before the royal gate. When these saw him come to court so arrayed and surrounded by a great retinue, they scoffed at him in spirit, and said: “O thou senseless barterer, who hast resigned an eternal and unchangeable honour and purchased that which is perishable, and which in a few days thou must also lose.”

He entered and seated himself in the hall where public judgment was held on the highest personages. A chamberlain of the court now appeared, who questioned him, saying: “The king hast sent me to thee; he from whom thou hast received all these distinguished honours. Answer me quickly concerning that of which judgment is required.” Then he related to him all the points on which the court had condemned him, and also revealed what they had hitherto kept secret: he had ruled the province of Sünik against all order, he had procured the condemnation of his uncle Wakhimag by a false charge, and had, as his nephew, procured his territory from the king. On many other points also he was condemned, concerning which there were witnesses present. He answered nothing, no true word came from his lips. After his crimes had been several times proclaimed in the court, sentence of death was pronounced upon him.

Then

A.D. 452. Then the gaoler came forward and led him away from among the great, stripped him of his robes of dignity which he had received from the king, and clothed him with the clothing of death. He was bound hand and foot, placed on horse-back like a woman, and thus led to the prison to which all those condemned to death were led. Although the Armenian princes, the bishops, and the priests had suffered much from him, they recalled not to mind the evil which he had suspended over them, or which they had otherwise suffered; they only wondered at the finger of God, which was then manifest to them. They comforted each other mutually, and said: "We have fought bravely, now let us suffer patiently. We have heard from our fathers, that patience is the summit of bravery, and heavenly wisdom a perfect fear of God, and that neither can be attained but by suffering. If sufferings are heaped upon us, so also the reward of glorious compensation will be the greater. This being so, let us only implore of God that we may withstand all temptations, and that the Lord himself may prepare the means for our liberation. We have heard of the judgment passed on forty warriors in Christ who had suffered much: one withdrew from the chamber and lost the crown; the thirty-nine waited patiently and obtained what they desired. Behold now our great one who has long since separated from us: behold he was an assistant of Satan; and so long as the soul endures he is given over to the unquenchable torments of hell. And this is to be lamented, not only on account of the holy, but of all mankind."

This they said, and poured many tears over the fallen one. They joined in psalms, and sang with a loud voice: "Better is it to hope in the Lord than in princes: all nations have gathered around me, and I have subjected all things to them." They encouraged each other mutually, and said: "O brethren, fear not the impious tribe of the heathens, whose rage is less terrible than that of bees; their roaring fury serves but to their own overthrow: but we trust in the name of the Lord, and all else we will despise."

When the apostate Vasag saw that the whole assembly of the sacred prisoners endured all suffering with joy; how at the court they were yet more cheerful and glorious than before, his heart yearned after them greatly: but none of them could approach him, as they were in separate prisons. He was daily led, pale as death, before the great tribunal, scoffed at and ridiculed, and exposed to the public gaze. Every thing was taken from him, and he was reduced to such poverty that his servants were obliged to beg bread for him. So rigidly did the King's officers claim the misappropriated tribute from his whole family, that although he brought in compensation all the goods of his parents and grandparents,

parents, together with his own ornaments, and those of the women, the royal claim could not be liquidated. They went so far as to enquire of him whether any thing valuable was buried in the graves of our forefathers. Whatever he knew of, was brought forward, and he indemnified the government with his own property and that of his friends, as though all were punishable alike. A.D. 452.

After he had been thus persecuted on all sides, he fell violently ill in prison : his body became burnt up, his spirit suffered, and melancholy pressed him down : worms crept from his eyes and from his nose ; his ears became shut, and his lips stood open ; the sinews of his arms refused their service, and both his feet were lamed on one side : an odour of death proceeded from him, and his most faithful servants fled from him : his tongue alone lived in his mouth, and yet no confession past his lips. A secret death smote him, and he went to hell without return. His friends shunned him, and his enemies took pleasure in his extraordinary sufferings.

The king commanded that, on account of his offences against Armenia, the place of his interment should not be made known ; for that as he had died like a dog, so should his carcase be devoured. His name is not named among the faithful, and he is unmentioned at the holy altar of the church. There is no evil which he did not commit during life, and there is no evil which in death has not overtaken him.

I have written down these recollections, to make known his excesses everywhere. I have written them down, in order that all who hear this may know that punishment followed him, and that they may keep themselves far from his ways.

NOTES

TO THE

HISTORY OF VARTAN.

NOTES TO THE DEDICATION.

Page 1.—Note 1.

THE same David to whom Elisæus dedicates his history, was, according to Chamchean, (ii. 18) one of those who assisted at the council of Ardashad, in the year 450 of our era. Elisæus, in his history of this remarkable assembly (see farther below), mentions Bishops only, and no priests whatever. Lasar Barbezi does, indeed, speak of one named David among the priests, but without adding that he was of the house of the Mamigonians. Thus it might have been the philosopher David, or some other of the same name; for since the introduction of Christianity into Armenia, the name David is one of the most common. David, like his relative Vartan, whose history is given by Elisæus, was of the house of the Mamigonians; so called from their progenitor, Mamgun, who, in the reign of Shapu I., son of the Sassanide Artashis, having fled from Djenasdan into Persia, was sent into Armenia by the Persian king, and repaired to the court of Dertad, king of the last-named country, (Moses of Khorene, ii. 81. p. 329; Vartan in his Geography, St. Martin, ii. 436.) King Dertad conferred on this family the district Daron, in the province Duroperan, (Injjean Ancient Geography, 91.) The province Jen, or Jenasdan, is however by no means the same with *China*, as St. Martin believes (ii. 15); for in the writings of the Armenian historians and geographers, we meet with two countries, both bearing this name, Djen. The one lies to the north of the country of the Akhuank, or Albanians, without the gates (of Derbend), and the other between Scythia (Turkestan) and China. From Touran, which is also called Chin by the Persians, the first of the two just-named countries, came the family of the Orpelians; and from the second, that of the Mamigonians. Judging from the descriptions, the latter must be the kingdom of Tangut. The mention which is made of the musk-animal alone would be sufficient to justify this conjecture. Chamchean, (i. 414; ii. 403; and iii. 164, in the Index;) the geography under the name of Moses and Vartan, in St. Martin, ii. 372, 376, and 436.) Cosmas calls the same country *Tsinitza*. (Topogr. Christ. ii. 137.) And in the Bundelesh, Chinestan seems to signify a country between Turkestan and China, (Avesta, ii. 361), of which probably frequent

mention is made in Tabari. In a passage printed in the Appendix to Sir W. Ouseley's *Oriental Geography* (p. 296.) Jenestan is mentioned in conjunction with Persia. "To thy son will fall Persia and Jenestan," says the Arabian to the daughter of the Persian king; and it is surely not to be inferred that Samar comprehended China itself under the name of Jenestan. According to Tabari himself (l. c. 298.), Samarkand is to be understood by Jenestan; for then, about the end of the sixth century, Samarkand was called Chin, and the Chinese were there. But the Chinese dominion, as we know from the History of the Wey Dynasty (A.D. 398—534), extended as far as Balk and Kandahar.—(Rémusat, *Mémoires sur plusieurs questions relatives à la Géographie de l'Asie Centrale*, p. 107.) It may be noticed that the Chinese sway extended for a long time over the whole of Tartary, as far as Balk and Chorassan, and that these nations and countries were called Chen and Chenasten for the same reasons that the Greeks were named 'Ρωμαῖοι and Greece 'Ρωμαϊκή.

Page 1.—Note 2.

The parts of Armenia which, after the extinction of the Arsacide dynasty, were attached to Persia, were called the *land towards the East*, and those which fell to the share of the Greeks, the *land towards the West*. (Lasar Barbezi, p. 17.) Hence the title of the second chapter of this history.

NOTES TO CHAPTER I.

Page 3.—Note 3.

ACCORDING to the Armenian historians, Agathangelos, Moses, Lasar, and Esnik (p. 160), Artaschir is the son of Sassan, a satrap of the province Sdaher. (Agathangelos, p. 1.) In the Greek translation it is stated erroneously *Ἀγασίρης τις τῶν Σταγριτῶν σατράπης ἦν*: *Artisir, who was a satrap in the country of the Stagrites*. The Armenian name *Sdahen* is the *Darakerd* of Mirkond; that is, the place built by Dara (Darius). *Kert*, or *Gerd*, in Armenian and in Zend, signifies to build, and this designation is found in many other names of cities; as in Tigranokerd, that built by Tigran. (Injijean, *Ancient Geography*, p. 74.) Concerning Darakerd, see the Persian Geographers in De Sacy's *Mémoires sur diverses Antiquités de la Perse*, 274, 32.

In Eutychius and Mirkond the same accounts are found concerning the Sassanides, and often in the same words. Instead of *اصطخر* in Eutychius, i. 352. read *اصطحر Astahr*, i. e. the Sdaher of Agathangelos; which is likewise found in the geography of Vartan. (St. Martin, ii. 438.) Some have believed this place to be Pasargada. Abulfeda mentions a city of the same name in Persia. (Assemani, *Biblioth. Orient.* iii. 743, 771.) The Greek Agathangelos occurs in the *Acta Sanctorum*, under the 30th of September, in the 8th vol. p. 323. See d'Herbelot, *art. Darabgerd*.

Page 3.—Note 4.

According to custom, I always write *Armenia*, and not *Haik*, although the Armenians themselves take the name of *Haik*, after the hero Haik. The Persians and Turks call the country *Ermenistan*, but in later times it is also found mentioned under the name of *Turkes-tan*. At present the larger part of it, especially towards the south, is called *Kurdistan*, from the Kurds, who dwell there in great numbers. (Injijean's *Geography*, p. 13; Chamchean, i. 74, 172.)

Page 3.—Note 5.

The Armenian expression is *Mogk*. This word does not seem related, as Anquetil supposes (*Zendavesta*, ii. 555) to *meh* (Sanskrit, *Maha*, in Armenian, *Weh*), signifying great; but with *Mog*, may. *Mog*, in Armenian and Chaldæan (Assemani, *Acta Martyr. Orient.* i. 39), signifies

nifies at the present day, *may, to know, enchant*. The priests of the fire-worship, to distinguish them from the Babylonian astrologers, should always be called *Mogk*. The calling persons so totally different as the enchanters and the Persian priests by the same name, *Magi*, has occasioned much confusion in the history of the religion and civilization of Western Asia. Chrysostomus directed attention to these mistakes. (Kleuker's *Persica*. Appendix to the *Zendavesta*, p. 95.)

Page 3.—Note 6.

The persecution of the Christians under the Sassanides began, as is remarked by Elisæus himself on more than one occasion further on, under Shapu III. (who reigned from 305 to 389), during the reigns of the Armenian sovereigns Diran and his son Arshag. (Moses, iii. 17, 18 p. 411; Chamchean, i. 438.) The Syrians suffered especially from the persecutions of Sapor (Shapu, *i. e.* the son of the Shah). The greater number of the martyrs mentioned in the *Acta Martyrum Orientalium* of Assemani suffered death for the Christian doctrine under this ruthless prince. The signification of *Dertad* is not, as De Sacy supposes (*Mémoires*, p. 290) *le donné par Tir*, but *the given of the Lord, of God* (Der). *Yasgerd* has nearly the same meaning as *Dertad*; *Yedgerd* signifying *the made, or the given of God*.

Page 3.—Note 7.

This is the year 428, in which the kingdom of the Arsacides ceased, and the greater portion of Armenia, that which had fallen to the Persians, was ruled by Margraves, called in Persian *Marspan*. *Mars* is *Mark* (frontier), and *pan*, or *ban*, is the old German word *Ban*; the original meaning of which was equivalent to the similarly-sounding Persian word. A guardian, one who has to watch over any thing, is called *Ban*. De Sacy has adduced various instances of the use of this word in the *Mém. de l'Institut*. ii. 236.

Page 3.—Note 8.

See the Chronology of the Sassanides, according to the Armenian and other sources, in the APPENDIX. Zeal for the fire-worship was peculiar to the whole Sassanide family. Tabari and Mirkond agree, that the father of Artashir was superintendant of a pyreum. (De Sacy, *Mém.* 275.) The uncritical ecclesiastical historians therefore make Artashir a Magus, confounding, as usual the Magi and the Mogk, and relate many strange things concerning the Sassanides. Several passages of this description have been collected by De Sacy, (*l. c.* p. 43, 44.) In the assembly summoned by Artashir, to consider of the restoration of the ancient faith which had sunk under the Parthians, 40,000 Mogbeds and Desturs attended. (Anquetil, in the *Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, vol. 38, p. 181.)

Page 4.—Note 9.

Midspin is the very ancient city Nisibis, in Mesopotamia. No tenable ground why the Armenians should call it Midspin can be pointed out. (Chamchean, i. 591.) Arshag, the founder of the Parthian dynasty, made this city the capital of the Armenian kingdom. (Moses of Khorene, i. 7. p. 46.) Nisibis was, at the period in question, in the hands of the Greeks. Yasgerd broke the treaty which his father Vram had entered into with the Greeks, and in the beginning of the second year of his reign invaded the Greek territories: a fact related by Moses of Khorene, who concludes exactly at the point where Elisæus begins. See the last chapter but one of the fourth book, and the Persian accounts in Malcolm's History of Persia, i. 122. Midspin is now nearly desolate, and inhabited only by Kurds. Not far from Midspin lies the borough of *Dara*, with many remarkable ruins, which, as far as I know, have never been visited by any modern traveller. According to the Arabian writer, El Harawi, they belong to the period of a Darius. Injijean says that they are the remains of a wonderful vaulted building hewn out of a single piece of rock. He ascribes them to the Emperor Justinian. (Injij. Geogr. i. 344. Ibn Batuta, translated by Lee, p. 50. St. Martin, i. 161.) In the most remote times Nisibis is called Akhar, and by the Greeks was named *Antiochia ad Mygdonium*. (Assem, Martyr. Orient. i. 81. Mannert, vol. ii. 216.)

Page 4.—Note 10.

In Armenian *Sbarabed*, spear-captain, *σπαρτηγός*, as Anatolius is called by Procopius. (Pers. i. 2.) This officer is the generalissimo of the army. (St. Martin, i. 298.)

Page 4.—Note 11.

Christianity was spread in Persia even sooner than in Armenia, since, according to Barde-sares, Christians were found there already in the second century. (Eusebii. Præp. Evangel. vi. 8.) The Persian province Hadjiabene is said to have contained many Christians as early as the first century. (Assemani, Martyr. Orient. i. lxvi. 104.)

Page 4.—Note 12.

The Armenian authors give the name *Dispon* to two distinct cities. The one is Ktesiphon in Asia Minor; and the other is the famous Persian capital in Assyria, opposite to Seleucia, which is often mentioned by Moses of Khorene. The latter of these is that here alluded to. (Chamchean, in the Index, iii. 192. See Note 15. Mannert, vol. ii. 298.)

Page 4.

Page 4.—Note 13.

Procopius confuses the whole narration. He calls (Pers. i. 2.) the Persian king to whom Anatolius was sent *Obapám*; (*Vram*, or Bahram, that is, Bahramgur), and says not a word of the treasures with which Theodosius purchased peace. This circumstance excepted, the accounts of both writers agree tolerably well. Mirkond also agrees with the Armenian authors. (De Sacy, *Mém.* 342.)

Page 4.—Note 14.

The Armenians call not only the Persians themselves, but also the Hunnish, or rather the Scythian tribes dwelling within the Caspian gates, *Kushanian*. (Chamchean, *Index*, iii. 195.) This designation corresponds with the genealogical tables of the tribes, for the most part arbitrarily drawn up, which we read in the first book of Moses of Khorene; and no certain conclusions can be drawn from the whole, though here and there this has been done. In the geography of Moses several tribes are spoken of who belonged to the Kushanians. (St. Martin, ii. 356.) Further on Elisæus expressly says, that the Huns were called Kushanians by the Armenians. On this account, probably, it was that their king was styled by the Persians *Kushnawas*. (De Sacy, *Mém.* 348.)

Page 4.—Note 15.

Bah-turn, that is Derbend. This celebrated and well-known pass, in the middle of the Caucasus and on the Caspian sea, is mentioned under several names by both the Armenian historians. They call it the gates of Yorai, of the Albanians, of the Huns, &c. Thus we read in Agathangelos, p. 2: "In the beginning of the year, Khosro, king of the Armenians, commenced assembling troops; he summoned the armies of the Achuant (the Albanians), and of the Virk (the Georgians); he opened the gates of the Alans, and removed the guard; he led the army of the Huns after plunder into Assoresdan (Assyria), unto the gate of Dispon." Thus, according to the excellent Parisian manuscript, must this passage be read. In the printed copy of Agathangelos it stands *Despon*. As we have above shown (see note 12), Dispon is a capital and residence of the Persian kings in Assyria. The Greek translation of Agathangelos is here faulty. One of the gates is called also *Jor* by Procopius. (Goth. iv. 3.) It is there said, that the gates of the Caucasus admitted the Hun tribes into the land of the Persians and Romans; of which gates, the one was called *Tsur*, and the other, from ancient times, the *Caspian*: ὡπερ ἀτίρα μὲν Τζοὺρ ἐπιτέλλεται ἡ δὲ ἑτέρα πύλη ἐκ παλαιῶ κασπία ἐκλήθη. (St. Martin, ii. 193.) It is probable that *Jor*, *Tsur*, and the Armenian *Shor*, are the same with the Pehlvi *Zoure*, signifying strength. (*Zendavesta*, iii. 435.) Notwithstanding all attempts, the only passage through the Caucasus yet discovered is that known to the ancients.

Page 4.—Note 16.

Faith is called by the Armenians *ten*, as by the Persians of the present day it is termed *din*. This word, like many others of the Armenian tongue, is found also in the Pehlevi language, in which law is called *din*. (Anquetil, Zendavesta, iii. 144.)

Page 5.—Note 17.

That is, Persians and Not-Persians. *An* is a negative particle, which is common to the Armenians and Greeks. Iran and Aniran, for which further on Eran and Daneran are used, are, with this signification, found also in the writings of the Parsees; and it is surprising that De Sacy, in his *Mémoires*, should have written some pages on the meaning of Aniran, without arriving at this simple explanation. —

Page 5.—Note 18.

We see from several passages in Elisséus (Armenian text, p. 18. 249. 253. and 324.), that the province or district of Khorassan, in which the celebrated city Nüşabuh was situated, was called *Aper* or *Apar*. In p. 324 our author expressly says: "In the great desert, in the district of Aper, near to the city Nüşapuh." It appears that the district took this name from "Aber Shehr" (High Town), a city built there by the Persian king Thamurath, and destroyed by Alexander. Moses calls the district "Aber Shehr." (ii. 372. St. Martin.) On its site Shapuh I., son of Artashir, founded Nüşabur. This is the capital of Khorassan, and the beauty of its situation is an eternal theme for glowing description with the oriental writers. See d'Herbelot, art. Aber and Nischabur.—Here usually assemble the Persian armies preparatory to setting forth against the Huns on the Caspian and Black Seas. Therefore in the first half of the tenth century Khordadbeh found there a place called *Leshkur gah*, the station of the army. (Ouseley's *Oriental Geography*, p. 213.) Nisabur and Herat were the most flourishing cities of Khorassan in the time of Ibn Batuta. (Travels, 95, 96.)

Page 5.—Note 19.

The Akhuanks, or Albanians, who are so frequently mentioned by the Armenian authors, dwelt by the Caspian sea, in the present province of Shirwan; and to the left bordered on the eleventh and twelfth Armenian provinces, Paidagaran and Oudy. A history of these Albanians might be compiled from Armenian sources; they were all Christians. (Injijean *Geog.* i. 413.) Strabo, xi. 4, describes the abode of the Albanians with great accuracy, excepting that he gives the two above-named Armenian provinces to Georgia, of which country

country they in fact formed part at a certain period. Οἰκοῦσι ('Αλβανοὶ) μεταξὺ τῶν Ἰβήρων καὶ τῆς Κασπίας θαλάττης πρὸς ἑμὲ μὲν ἀπτόμενοι τῆς θαλάττης, πρὸς δύσει δὲ ὁμοροῦντες τοῖς Ἰβηρσι. (Deguignes, *Histoire des Huns*, ii. 328.)

Page 5.—Note 20.

These Liphenians are also mentioned frequently by Agathangelos. They are one of the many tribes of the Caucasus, perhaps the *Lubieni* of Pliny, vi. 10., "Toto montium frontegentes Sylvorum feræ et intra Lubienorum." They dwelt to the east of the river Kur, towards Derbent. Agathangelos mentions them (p. 3.) in the following succession: Albanians, Liphenians, Jichbians, and Caspians.

Page 5.—Note 21.

This tribe were bounded on the west by the Armenian province Oudy, and on the east by the Albanians. Their chief station was by the river Kur. They were called also *Dsofteaxians*. (Chamchean, iii. 155.)

Page 5.—Note 22.

At various periods the Armenian authors have given the name *Gortuk* to a now larger now smaller province of Armenia, and Assyria, or Media. These are the *Kortuchs* of Xenophon and other ancient writers. Originally, *Gortuk* was one of the six districts in the Armenian province Gorshek, bordering on Assyria. *Gortuk*, *Kortuchs*, and *Kurds*, are, in all probability, one and the same tribe. This, Injjean seems to have thought. (Old Armenia, p. 144.) It has, therefore, been rightly imagined, that the great mass of the Kurds are descended from the Medes, in Armenian called *Mark*. (Mannert, v. ii. p. 63.)

Page 5.—Note 23.

Akhznik is the third Armenian province, and to the south borders on Mesopotamia. Having often separated from Armenia, and governed itself independently, it is often mentioned by itself. Injjean (Old Armenia, p. 66.) quotes this passage from Elisæus.

Page 5.—Note 24.

That is, Armenia. *Mieds*, great (*mese* Zendavesta, iii. 453), is a common by-name of Armenia, and of the Armenians. Here it signifies that part of Armenia which, by the division
of

of this kingdom, fell to Persia (see above, Note 2), which division comprised the provinces Ararat, Vashburagan, Sunik, Mogk, Gorshk, Parsgahaik, and a part of Duroperan. (Chamchean, iii. 160. Index.)

Page 5.—Note 25.

This is the house of the Arkhagunians or the Arsacides. Even after the fall of the Arsacide dominion in Armenia, and for a long time subsequently, there were several branches of this Parthian royal family in the country. For example, the celebrated Gregorius Magistros was commonly called the *Arsacide*, or the *Parthian Prince*. We learn also, from Agathangelos, that many branches of the Arsacides voluntarily subjected themselves to the founder of the Sassanide dynasty. The Armenian ambassadors (in Procop. de bello Persico II. vol. i. s. 39.) are expressly made to say: *Εἰσὶ μὲν ἡμῶν πολλοὶ Ἀρσακίδαι.*

Page 5.—Note 26.

Widely different countries are called by the common name of the *Dadji* in the Armenian historians. In the present instance, *Dajgasdan* probably stands for Assyria, in which sense the word is used by Moses of Khorene (ii. 79. p. 325), and later once again by Elisæus. (p. 184 of the Armenian text.) it probably means Arabia; for, in the Bundeshesh, the Arabians are called *Tasian*. (Avesta, ii. 380.) Here was originally the boundary of the Persian kingdom under Feridun. (Avesta, ii. 397.)

Page 5.—Note 27.

By this is to be understood, probably, that part of the Byzantine Greek dominions, conquered by the Persian kings of the house of Sassan.

Page 5.—Note 28.

The thirteenth Armenian province, *Kukark*, was the cause of many wars between the Georgians and Armenians, both bordering on it, and was now in the possession of one, now of the other of these two nations. In the time of Elisæus it belonged to Georgia; and he mentions it particularly, because this province, called Gogarene by Strabo and others, was generally governed by its own sovereign. (Injijean, Old Armenia, 354. St. Martin, i. 79.)

Page 5.—Note 29.

This will not appear surprising, when we reflect, how many Christians Cosmas Indicopleustes found in all these provinces a century later. Ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ Βάκτροις, καὶ Οὔννοις, καὶ Πέρσαις, καὶ λοιποῖς (read λευκοῖς) Ἰνδοῖς, καὶ Περσαρμενίοις, καὶ Μήδοις, καὶ Ἑλαμίταις καὶ πάσῃ τῇ χώρᾳ Περσίδος, καὶ ἐκκλησίαι ἀπειροὶ καὶ ἐπίσκοποι καὶ χριστιανοὶ λαοὶ πάμπολλοι καὶ μάρτυρες πολλοὶ. (Christ. Topog. apud. Monts. ii. 179. Collect. Nov.)—See Notes 5—8.

Page 6.—Note 30.

These are the *Hephtalide* Huns, or *White Huns*, whom Procopius expressly distinguishes from the Huns of Attila. (Pers. i. 3.) Ἐφθαλίται δὲ Οὔννων μὲν ἔθνος εἰσὶ καὶ δυναμάζονται. οὐ μέντοι ἀναμίσγνυνται ἢ ἡπικωριάζουσιν Οὔννοις τισίν, ὧν ἡμεῖς ἴσμεν ἀλλὰ προσοικοῦσι μὲν Πέρσαις πρὸς Βορρᾶν ἄνεμον, οὗ δὲ πόλις Γοργὰ ὄνομα. Moses of Khorene calls one of their cities *Varedchan*, and distinctly mentions that they were possessed of several, which fully agrees with the account given by Procopius. (St. Martin, ii. 356. See also Note 14.) Even the language of these Huns is mentioned by the Armenian writers. (See my *Mémoire sur David*, p. 27.) These Huns were by no means a barbarous tribe; and even Touran appears, in the Bundelesh, to have been a tolerably civilized country. (Avesta, ii. 366.)

Page 6.—Note 31.

The Khailenturks are one of the numerous tribes of Huns on the other side of the pass of Djor, or the Alanian-gate. They are mentioned by Elisæus in two other instances. (p. 250 and 253 of the Armenian text.) In the Oriental Geography, translated by Sir W. Ouseley, p. 159, we find a nation somewhat similar in name to the Khailenturks. This is the *Hilabshar*, or *Chilabshar*. "The sovereigns of Persia have considered the possession of this city (Derbend) "as a matter of great importance, and have established a race of people to guard it, called "Tairberan, and there is another tribe called Heilabshar." The Khailenturks are also mentioned in St. Martin's History of the Orpelians, vol. ii.

Page 6.—Note 32.

Aderushan, like many other Armenian words, is found in the Zend language. *Atere*, Pazend *Ader*, Pehlvi *Atesh*, is in Zend 'Fire,' (Zendavesta, ii. 24, 473.) *Shan* is a termination indicating a place, as *Aderbidshan*, the land of fire, (Wahl, Vorder-und Mittel-Asien, 538.)

Page 6.—Note 33.

The holy fire is always designated among the Armenians by the word *Grag*, a word which is elsewhere also used in this sense. The Parsees call it by the Zend word *Aderan*; and the repository in which this fire is kept is named *Atashdan* (*dun* Genit. *dan*, in Armenian, signifies a house), the *house of fire*, (Zendavesta, ii. 531.) According to the Zerdusht-nameh in Anquetil's *vie de Zoroastre* (Avesta, i. 26), the great *Ardibehesht* commanded that in every place should be established a sacred fire-station (Ateshgah). Concerning the Ateshgahs in Fars during the first half of the tenth century, see the passage of Chordadbeh in Uylenbroek, (*Iracæ Persicæ descriptio*, p. 69.) The ox or bull, as the principle of all life, occupies a high place in the religious doctrine of the Mogks. An Izeshe to him runs in the following strain according to Anquetil (ii. 277): "Je fais izeschne au saint Ferouer du Bœuf intelligent, vivant, lumineux, la lumière des provinces." (See Bundelesh, ii. 356, 371.; also Vendidad. Fargard, xxi. i. 424.) The goat is also a sacred animal; *Behram* appeared in the form of a goat. (Avesta, ii. 291.) In the Bundelesh the five species of goats are enumerated (ii. 372, 397). It should be observed that in Armenian also *Bun* signifies *nature, ground*; and *douitsh*, the *giver*, the *enlightener*: thus *Bundouitsh* means *explainer*, or the *enlightening of nature*. In Chinese, too, singularly enough, *pun* signifies the *basis, nature*. (Avesta, ii. 337.)

Page 6.—Note 34.

This word is compounded of *Mog* and *bed*, which means *head* (𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌). *Head, chief*, is in Zend, *Peted*; in Pehlvi, *Pad*; and in Armenian, *Pedt*, or, with a slight change of the pronunciation, *Pied*. All these words agree with the Sanskrit *Pâ*, which means, to rule. Thus the Mobed is the chief priest; and in the hierarchy of the Parsees holds the second rank. Farther on we shall speak more at large of the Parsian hierarchy. (Avesta, ii. 516, 555.)

Page 7.—Note 35.

Instead of *Ssergeam* I read *Sstahish*. Agreeably to the first reading, the translation would run thus: "He delivered over to him some one for two years, that he might punish him;" which is very improbable.

NOTES TO CHAPTER II.

Page 9.—Note 1.

I HAVE been unable to discover any thing concerning the situation of this province or city. The name is perhaps mutilated, and should be written *Istakhar*.

Page 9.—Note 2.

Ssaratashd is the name by which Zoroaster is invariably called in the Armenian Historians and Fathers of the Church; but they give no clue to the signification of this name. *Chamchean* (i. 177.) infers very carelessly from the testimony of Moses (I. 5.) and of Elisæus, that *Ssaratashd* signifies as much as *Mog*, i. e. *Magian*. Anquetil explains the word by the Zend language in which *Ssaratashd* means *golden star*. (Avesta, i. 4.) In Esnik (i. 9. p. 141.) Zoroaster is mentioned along with some very curious statements. I here give a translation of the entire passage: "Again the Magi assign the following cause for the origin of light—they overturn what has just been said, and give another ground for the creation of the sun. They say: 'Arhmen invited Vormist to a banquet. Vormist came, but would not partake of the meal till their children had fought against each other. Now after the son of Arhmen had overthrown the son of Vormist, and they required an umpire and could find none, then they created the sun, that he might be the umpire between them.' Now they infer from this that Arhmen is omnipotent even with regard to the sun, and contend that he took part in the creation of light. But was there, in reality, no other umpire present?—could they not have gone to the Father, or to Him to whom the Father and Son, according to their mythology, had addressed their prayers.*

"And wherefore then were they in enmity against each other, Vormist and Arhmen, who had been confined in one womb, who were about to banquet together, and who by mutual co-operation created the sun and set him up as umpire? But one *Ssaratashd* teaches the following disgraceful doctrine, that the Sun and the Light were made in maternal and sisterly embraces,† and taught the nation that they might perpetrate the same atrocity: and to veil this disgrace it was given out, that they (the Sun and the Light) were created for the office of umpire: *for as their doctrines of belief are not contained in books,*
" *they*

* This passage will be explained further on.

† This passage is very obscure in the original.

“ *they sometimes say this, and at others they say that, and mislead the ignorant by it.*
 “ But if Vormist was God, he was in a situation to create the sun, as well as the heavens and
 “ the earth, out of nothing, and not through a crime, or because there was no umpire at hand.”

This account of the creation of the sun is found neither in the Zendavesta nor in the Bundeheesh. It is also clear from this passage, that in the time of Esnik (about 450) the Zendavesta, if even existing in the Temple Archives, was totally unknown to the profane.

Page 10.—Note 3.

It is the duty of the Parsees to send flesh to the public festivals which is then consecrated by the priest; much the same as is now done in the Catholic churches at Easter. This flesh is called by the Parsees *Mieds*: in Armenian, flesh is named *mies*. Wine is also offered up; and it is even a duty on such days to eat and drink abundantly, (Avesta ii. 534. 576.) The Parsees believe that they do honour to Ormuzd when they eat and drink great quantities; which acts are found mentioned on grave-stones as highly praiseworthy. (Athen. Deipnosoph. x. 434. Avesta ii. 601.)

Page 11.—Note 4.

This was a great innovation. Previously nothing but a land-tax had been known throughout the Persian dominions, and this was irregularly levied over the whole country. Nushirvan first distributed it, in a uniform manner, (Mirkhond, in Sacy's Mémoires, 372.) With regard to the regulation of the imposts in Persia under the Arab dominion, consult Sir W. Ouseley's Oriental Geography, p. 136. That the Christians under the Persian government of this period were required to pay a particular poll-tax, is manifest also from Syrian sources, (Neander, History of the Christian Church, ii. p. 229.)

Page 11.—Note 5.

Harasbed, Chiliarchos. This was the title of the civil governor of Armenia. The head of the military power was called Sbarabed (see Note 10 to the first chapter); and over both was placed the Margrave, styled *Marsban*.

Page 11.—Note 6.

It would appear from this, that with the poll-tax was combined a species of house and property-tax.

Page 11.—Note 7.

Mihr-Nersi or Narsi was one of the most distinguished and best-informed men of his time. According to Mirkhond, his father was named *Bahman*, and his grandfather *Esfendiar*. He must

must have been very aged at the period in question, for he was vizier under Bahramgur (Mir-khond, in Sacy's *Mém.* p. 337). To indulge his religious zeal he withdrew from public affairs; but was re-appointed to his former dignity by Yasgerd II., surnamed *Sipadost*, "friend of the Army." (Mirkhond, in Sacy's *Mém.* p. 342.) In Elisæus his title is quite Persian. (St. Martin, b. 476.) Lasarus Barbezi quotes the speech which he is said to have addressed to Yasgerd, in order to excite that prince to the persecution of the Christians, (Chamtchean, ii. 8.) St. Martin seems to have followed an erroneous text in his translation. Daniran is, besides, the same as *Aniran*. (See Note 17, page 77.)

Page 11.—Note 8.

This is a title of honour among the adherents of Zoroaster. Anquetil derives the word from *Maxde* (Ormud) and *iesn*, prayer, (Avesta, i. 88. 2.) The *Masteses* are therefore the worshippers of Ormud. Elisæus himself further on, (p. 143 of the Armenian text,) calls the doctrine of Zoroaster, the belief of the *Masteses*, "*ten mastesanx*." This word occurs frequently also in Moses. The Persian kings, as Shapuh II., call themselves "the most excellent of the *Masteses*." (Moses, p. 411. 429. 451. 492. 502. See also a subsequent note.) With the *Masteses* it is probable that the *Megistanes* or *Magistanes* of the Parthians agree. (St. Croix, *Mémoire sur les Parthes*. *Mém. de l'Académie des Insc.* vol. 50. p. 61.)

Page 11.—Note 9.

Kharaman, or Haraman, is the Armenian name of the serpent, or of a very evil demon. From this word Arhmen is in all probability derived. Esnik (l. c. p. 144) says this in very express terms: "Arhmen is by them deemed evil, because he takes his name from the serpent (Kharaman): he had excited the envy of the sun, and was called Kharaman." This passage is very obscure in the Armenian, and I have been able to comprehend it only through Fargard xxii. of the Vendidad, where "Ormud complains that the serpent, *Arhmen*, had caused the "envy of thousands against him," (Avesta, i. 428.) Arhmen generally appears as a serpent in the Avesta. In another passage Esnik says: (p. 235.) "The Magi foolishly suppose that "Kharaman is the Author of Evil." Even if we know that the original meaning of *Arhmen* is serpent still we are no farther advanced with regard to the etymology of the word, for the explanation of Anquetil, according to the Zend (Enghré meniosh, in the evil,) appears extremely questionable, (Avesta, i. 81, 155.) The Armenian word *Arhaman*, 'shameful,' also seems to correspond to *Kharaman*, *Arhmen*.

Page 11.—Note 10.

Hashd in Armenian, like *Yeshd* in Zend, signifies prayer, blessing. Thus a very celebrated place before the Christian times was called *Ashdishad* or *Hashdishad*, that
is,

is, *place or city of prayer*, in which were many heathen temples. This explanation is given also by Agathangelos. *Hashdishad* lies in the province of Duruperan, in the canton Daron, (Injijean, Old Armenia, p. 92.) The Yeshds are prayers intermixed with eulogies of the person to whom the orison is addressed.

Page 12.—Note 11.

In the passage below which we shall give entire (see page 91), Esnik says that *Zruan* signifies *fate* or *fame*. The fragment of Photius, from the work of Theodorus of Mopsueste, entirely agrees with the accounts given by the Armenian writers, it likewise rendering the word by *destiny*, *τύχη*. The passage concerning *Zruan*, in the Vendidatsade and in the Bundelesh, have been collated by Anquetil (Avesta, ii. 592). But in the Vendidatsade there is comparatively little mention made of *Zruan*, and Anquetil (i. 414) rightly regards this as remarkable. The adherents of Zoroaster were divided into two chief sects (Neander, *Christliche Kirchengeschichte*, i. 2. 548; but this statement, according to Hyde, *de rel. vet. Pers.* p. 295, seems to require confirmation), namely, into those who firmly adhered to Dualism, and those who professed Monotheism. With the former the Vendidatsade seems to have originated; and to the latter it appears that the accounts of the Armenian writers refer. This is not the place for entering into particulars on this point. The reader may consult the judicious treatise of the Abbé Foucher (*Mém. de l'Académie des Inscript.* xxxix. p. 727,) entitled *Zarouan, ou le Premier Principe*.

Page 12.—Note 12.

St. Martin must here have followed a totally different text, for he translates this passage: ‘Mais le mal est mêlé à tout.’ The peripatetic philosopher Eudemos, probably a pupil of Aristotle, explains the religious philosophy of the Magi in the following words, just as Mihrnerseh: *Μάγοι δὲ πᾶν τὸ ἄρειον γένος ὡς καὶ τοῦτο γράφει ὁ Εὐδήμος, οἱ μὲν τόπον, οἱ δὲ χρόνον καλοῦσι τὸ νοητὸν ἅπαν καὶ τὸ ἠνωμένον ἐξ οὗ διακριθῆναι ἡ Θεὸν ἀγαθὸν καὶ δαίμονα κακὸν ἢ φῶς καὶ σκότος πρὸ τούτων, ὡς ἐνίους λέγουσιν. Οὗτοι δὲ οὖν καὶ αὐτοὶ μετὰ τὴν ἀδιάκριτον φύσιν διακρινομένην ποιοῦσι τὴν διττὴν συστοιχίαν τῶν κρείττονων τῆς μὲν ἡγεῖσθαι τὸν Ὀρμιάσδην, τῆς δὲ τὸν Ἀρειμάνιον.* (Damascii de Principiis, p. 384, ed. Kopp.) “The Magi, and the whole generation of the Arians, call (as Eudemos likewise relates) the rational Universe and the One partly *space* and partly *time*, from which both the “good God and evil Demon have separated; or, as some will have it, even before them; light and “darkness. When undivided nature had divided itself, the twofold system of the higher powers “formed itself—Ormusd ruling one system and Arhmen the other.” (Kleuker Persica, *Anhang zum Zend Avesta*, p. 140.) In the carelessly prepared Editio Princeps of Damascius, by Kopp, there are neither notes nor a translation; moreover it is disfigured by a great number of misprints. In the above remarkable passage from Eudemos there are likewise traces of the sects among the Parsees, alluded to in the preceding note.

Page 12.—Note 13.

St. Martin's translation is in this passage also entirely different from mine.

Page 12.—Note 14.

Mihrnerseh justly says, that Christianity spread from the Greeks to the Armenians: see Preface. "That Mihrnerseh mentions a fig by which Eve was seduced, is to be accounted for by the fact, that many Eastern fathers of the church thought themselves able to prove this from Genesis iii. 7." Neander, *Geschichte der Christlichen Kirche*, ii. 1. p. 221.

Page 12.—Note 15.

On this ground Gustasp required that all princes dependent on Iran should adopt the doctrine of Zoroaster; and this was the cause of the many religious wars in the Persian kingdom. (*Avesta*, i. 58.)

Page 12.—Note 16.

This word is elsewhere used by Elisæus, (p. 280 and 318 of the Armenian text). The Arabians generally call the Christians *Nazaræans*, from Nazareth; but why the officers should be called *Nazaræans* here I cannot say. In the Fathers of the Church of the first century the *Nazaræans* appear as a Christian sect, half Jews and half Christians, (Walch, *Ketzerhistorie*, i. 101.) Neander, in his *History of the Christian Religion* (ii. 227), supposes that by *Nazaræans* are here to be understood the monks; from whom, in these provinces, the clergy were usually chosen. Gregory Nazianzen (orat. p. 527) actually calls the monks *Nazaræans*.

Page 13.—Note 17.

I agree in opinion with St. Martin (ii. 478), that the Grand Vizier lays peculiar stress upon this point, because the fundamental principle of the Parsees, *Zruan*, is properly fate. The Christian writings against fate, as, for example, the work of Bardesanes, must therefore, have been especially displeasing to the Parsees.

Page 13.—Note 18.

Of this high court of judicature we shall have occasion to speak further on.

Page 13.—Note 19.

I shall here briefly bring together the necessary geographical explanations. The kingdom of Armenia, in its greatest extent, consisted of fifteen provinces, which again were divided into several districts or cantons. The enumeration of these provinces commonly begins with Little Armenia (a name used only by the Greeks and Romans, the Armenians calling the province *Garin*), and ends with Ararat, the last of the fifteen provinces. The Armenians generally write the name of this province Airarad (a word of doubtful origin), and divide it into twenty cantons. Joseph, who is here mentioned as Bishop of Airarad, was born at Hokhozim, in the canton of Waiatzdsor (Vale of Woe), in the ninth province, Sünik or Sisistan, whose bishop is also here mentioned. Joseph was a disciple of Sahag the Great, and of Mesrob, and succeeded the latter as Katholikos of Armenia, in the year 441. With great dignity and firmness he administered the spiritual government during eleven eventful years of trial, and at length suffered martyrdom in Persia. He will be again mentioned hereafter. (Injijean, *Old Armenia*, p. 256, 379.) Daron is the first canton of the fourteenth province Duruperan, or Daruperan, whose bishop is also here mentioned. Daron was a very celebrated and early cultivated district of Armenia. We have already mentioned it (Note 1) as the hereditary seat of the Mamigonians. (Injijean, l. c. p. 91.) *Manasgerd* (i. e. built by Manas) took its name from Manavas, son of Haig: it also was situated in Duruperan, in the canton of Hark. (Injij. l. c. p. 116). The bishop of Bakrevant, a canton of the province of Airarad, is the famous author of the classical work entitled "Overthrow of the Heretics." The most important passages of Eshnik's works are occasionally given in these notes. (Injij. l. c. p. 402.) *Bessnun* lies in Duruperan, and Surmag is an opponent of Sahag the Great, mentioned by Moses of Khorene. (Injij. l. c. p. 121.) *Daik* is the fourteenth province of Armenia. The Daiks of Armenia are the *Daii* or *Dahae* of the ancients. (Injij. l. c. p. 368). By the Persians this province is generally called Dahestan: it is frequently mentioned in the Oriental geography translated by Sir W. Ouseley. (Mannert, v. ii. 364.) *Pasen*, or *Pasean*, is the first canton in the province of Airarad. (Injij. p. 380.) Martasdan is a canton of the largest and most important of all the Armenian provinces, Vaspuragan: it was the residence of the king and of the katholikos. From their government it received also the name of "the Land of the Ardsrunians." Its bishop is likewise here mentioned. (Injij. p. 156, 200.) *Martakh* is a canton in Duruperan. (Injij. p. 114.) *Rheshdun*, or *Rhshdun*, is a canton of the province Vaspuragan, here called the land of the Ardsrunians. (Injij. l. c. p. 164.) *Mog* is the fifth Armenian province. (Injij. p. 123.) *Vanant*, or Vanand, is a canton in Airarad. (Injij. p. 431.) The canton *Arakad* or *Arakadsode* is here called the land of the *Amadunians*, from the family who governed it. Elisæus, author of the present history, was bishop in this canton. (Injij. l. c. p. 438.) *Andsievas* is a canton in Vaspuragan, and Apahunik in Duruperan. (Injij. s. 196, 128.) Concerning all these places very satisfactory accounts may be found in St. Martin's *Mémoires sur l'Arménie*.

Page 14.—Note 20.

The choir bishops were for the country what the bishops were for the cities; and hence their name, from the Greek χώρα “country.” In the second part of the third volume of the *Bibl. Orientalis* by *Assemani*, further information may be found relative to them.

Page 14.—Note 21.

Ardashad (α'Αράξαρα of the ancients) lay, as Strabo correctly says, in a sort of peninsula, where the river Medsamor falls into the Araxes. At this day the Medsamor is called in the neighbouring towns “the River of Karni.” (Injij. New Armen. p. 256.) According to St. Martin its name on the Russian maps is *Garnatshai*, (Mem. i. 41.) Mannert's account (v. ii. 168, new edition) is for the greater part incorrect. The testimony of the ancients, that the city was built by Hannibal, can hardly be made to agree with Moses of Khorene (ii. 96), according to whom it was built by Artashir II. and Injij. l. c. p. 486, strives in vain to combine these different accounts by sundry dates. Moses speaks distinctly of *building* and not of *restoring*. Moreover, *Ardashad* really signifies the city of Artashir. *Shad*, which is found in the names of many other Armenian cities, as in *Hashdishad* (Note 44), *Wakharshad*, &c. means, in the ancient Armenian language, *city*: and in the Pehlavi city is called *Shatun*. (Injij. l. c. p. 92. Avesta, ii. 508.) The ruins of this celebrated city lie at a distance of nine English miles from Erivan. Sir Robert Ker Porter saw and took a sketch of them a few years ago. (See *Travels in Persia*, ii. 621). These ruins are now called by the Armenians, “the Deep Pit, or Ditch.” (Injij. New Armen. s. 257.)

Page 14.—Note 22.

This is Vormist the First, who came to the throne in 302. The fact here related is entirely new, and I have in vain sought for more precise information on the subject.

Page 14.—Note 23.

This relates to the conclusion of the Grand Vizier's epistle.

Page 14.—Note 24.

Here is a fresh proof of the wide diffusion of Christianity in the East before the time of Mohammed.

Page 14.—Note 25.

Weh, great, excellent. This word is found in the Pehlavi with the same signification, and is a favourite name with the followers of Zoroaster. In the Zend form, *wengh*, it frequently occurs

occurs in the Avesta. (*De Sacy, Mém.* 77, 78. Uylenbroek, *Iracæ Persicæ descriptio*, p. 60, note 94). The Pehlavi *weh* is the modern Persian word *beh*, good.

Page 14.—Note 26.

Those versed in ecclesiastical history will here, as in many subsequent passages, find traces of the Eutychiaric heresy.

Page 15.—Note 27.

Or “whom you and I call *Hreshdag*.” This word, like many others, is both Persian and Armenian. It corresponds with the Persian *feristaden*, “to send away, to send.” In Hebrew, *Malach* is known to have the same meaning.

Page 16.—Note 28.

Of the birth of Mithra from the body of a woman nothing further is known. This assertion, in common with several of the same description, probably proceeded from the religious eclecticism, of which so many traces are found in the East, during the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries of our era. *Mithra*, who even in the Avesta is several times called *the Mediator*, was held as one and the same person with Christ; and whatever the Evangelists relate of Christ was transferred to him. This religious eclecticism appears to have been the fashion, not only with the Christians, as with Marcion, and Manes, and his sect, but also, as we see from this passage, with the Parsees. *Mithra* in itself is, as the name implies, nothing more than the Yezd of the Sun. In *Agathangelos* (p. 342) it is related, that Saint Gregory, in the province known even at the present day by the name *Dershan* or *Tershan*, and in a place called *Pakanitsh* (so called from *Pakin*, temple), caused the temple of the god Mihr, the son of Aramast (Ormud) to be pulled down. In the Greek *Agathangelos*, *Vulcan* stands for *Mihr*. (*Acta Sanct.* l. c. p. 380.) In *Moses of Khorene* a letter is given, addressed by Shapuh II. to Tigran, in which Mihr is simply called “the great God.” (iv. 17. *Injij.* l. c. p. 25.) Neander, in the *History of the Christian Church* (i. 2. 534), says, “Nearly all that the system of Zoroaster taught of Mithras as the genius of the Sun, was transferred by Manes to his Christ.” See also Anquetil, *Index to the Avesta*. Further on Mithra will be spoken of again. It is singular that Esnik, who dissects and refutes the entire system of the Parsees, makes no mention whatever of Mithra.

Page 17.—Note 29.

The delicate irony of the bishop is worthy of remark. Yasdegerd, according to the concurrent testimony of *Elisæus* and of *Lasarus of Barb*, believed himself to be something supernatural.

supernatural. "The most excellent of the seven gods is Ormusd himself: he is the first of the Amshaspands." In the Yeshd to Ormusd (Avesta, ii. 150), the latter says to Zoroaster, that every man, on the approach of the Evil One should find assistance on praying to the Seven Amshaspands: that is, to himself, to Bahman, &c.

Page 19.—Note 30.

In the Armenian text the note of interrogation is wanting; but the passage must be so given, or it is without meaning. This whole epistle is in the original exceedingly difficult; and in some parts it required the most intense application before I was enabled to divine the signification. I will not, therefore, contend that I have *always* found the right one.

Page 19.—Note 31.

I have here translated the Armenian word *Phanturag* conjecturally: its precise meaning I know not.

Page 19.—Note 32.

The epistle of the Armenian bishops is dated in the year 450, and it was not till the fourth Œcumenic Synod of Chalcedon in 458, that the human nature of Christ was comprehended under this symbol, in order to oppose the errors of both Nestorius and Eutyches. This passage I therefore suppose to be interpolated. It appears, indeed, to be a verbal copy from the resolutions of the Synod of Chalcedon. In these resolutions, the fathers decide that Christ is τέλειον τὸν αὐτὸν ἐν Θεότητι, καὶ τέλειον τὸν αὐτὸν ἐν ἀνθρωπότητι, Θεὸν ἀληθῶς καὶ ἄνθρωπον ἀληθῶς; or, according to the old Latin translation: "Eundem perfectum in deitate, et eundem perfectum in humanitate: Deum verum et hominem verum." See the Epistle of Pope Leo to Flavian, patriarch of Constantinople, and the resolutions of the Œcumenic Synod of Chalcedon, printed in the Greek, Latin, and Armenian languages, at Venice, (1805, at St. Lazaro,) p. 40, 41. Not, however, that the ecclesiastical doctrines were always strictly maintained in Armenia; on the contrary, we know that the Nestorians, after the Synod of Ephesus, especially laboured in Armenia for the diffusion of the writings of Theodorus of Mopsueste, which for this purpose they had translated into the Syriac, Armenian, and Persian languages. In 435, Sahag the Great assembled a council at Hashdishad, in the canton Daron, in which he condemned the works of Theodorus, and addressed an epistle to that effect to Proclus, the newly-elected patriarch of Constantinople. The answer of the patriarch is preserved in the original Greek, and there is a very ancient Armenian translation of it still extant, (Procli Archiepiscopi Constantino-politani Opuscula, ed. Elmenhorst. Lugduni Bat. 1617-8. Chamchean, i. 526—528.)

Page 19.—Note 33.

Here also I have been obliged to add a note of interrogation, in order to make the text intelligible. Generally, the editors at St. Lazaro appear to have followed no fixed rule of punctuation.

Page 20.—Note 34.

Lasarus of Barb gives (p. 75—78) only an extract from this long and interesting answer of the Armenian bishops. Among other things he makes them to say, “ But this know ye generally concerning our belief, that we worship neither the elements, nor the sun, nor the moon, nor the wind, nor fire, as do ye: nor do we at all worship the many other gods whom you acknowledge on the earth and in heaven.” Many Greek writers, as is well known, speak of this adoration of the elements by the Magi, especially of the elements of water and fire. Esnik’s representation of the creed of Zoroaster, to which we have referred (page 85), is literally as follows:

“ Before yet any thing was made, either the heavens or the earth, or any creature whatsoever which liveth in the heavens or on the earth, was one named *Zeruan*, a word signifying the same with *destiny* or *fame*. A thousand years he offered sacrifice that he might obtain a son, who should have the name *Ormisd*, and should create heaven and earth and all things in them. After a thousand years of sacrifice he began to reflect and said, ‘ The sacrifice which I have performed, does it conduce to the end, and shall a son, *Ormisd*, be born to me, or do I strive in vain?’ While he thought thus, *Ormisd* and *Ahrmen* were conceived in the body of their mother. *Ormisd* was the offspring of the sacrifice, and *Ahrmen* of the doubt. *Zeruan* knew this and said,—‘ Two sons are in the mother’s womb: he who shall first come forth to me, will I make the king.’ *Ormisd* knew his father’s thought, imparted it to *Ahrmen*, and said, ‘ Our father *Zeruan* intends to make him king who shall first come to him;’ and *Ahrmen* hearing this, pierced through the body of his mother, and stood before his father. *Zeruan* looking on him said, ‘ Who art thou?’ And he said, ‘ I am thy son.’ Then *Zeruan* spoke to him: ‘ My son is of odoriferous breath and resplendent appearance, but thou art dark and of an evil odour.’ While they were thus speaking together, *Ormisd* was born at his proper time, and he was bright-shining and sweet-breathing. He went forth and came before *Zeruan*: and when *Zeruan* looked upon him, he knew that this was his son *Ormisd*, for whom he had offered sacrifice. He took the vessel which he had in his hand, and wherewith he had sacrificed, gave it to *Ormisd*, and said, ‘ Hitherto I have sacrificed for thee, now and henceforward thou mayest sacrifice for me:’ and hereupon *Zeruan* gave his vessel to *Ormisd*, and blessed him. *Ahrmen* saw this and said to *Zeruan*, ‘ Hast thou not taken an oath, whichsoever of the two sons shall first come to me, him will I make king?’ *Zeruan*, that he might not break his oath, said to *Ahrmen*, ‘ O thou false and evil-doer! to thee be dominion given for nine thousand years; but I appoint *Ormisd* lord over thee. After the nine thousand years *Ormisd* shall rule, and what he wishes that shall

“ ‘shall he bring to pass.’ Now Ormisd and Ahrmen began to form creatures; and all that
 “ Ormisd formed were good, and all that Ahrmen formed were evil and perverse.

Page 21.—Note 35.

Tpirabed: a word compounded of *tpir*, writer, notary, and *bed*, head; and thus signifying a prothonotary, a chancellor. This office was filled by Agathangelos, under King Tiridates, or Dertad.

Page 21.—Note 36.

It would here lead us too far, were detailed notices to be given of all these families. The internal form of government in Armenia was not changed by the fall of the Arsacide dynasty, the Parthian feudal constitution being throughout preserved. At the head of the nobles were the branches of the Arsacide family: after them came the barons, and after these the freemen. It is highly probable that there was also a kind of vassals, though of this fact I have found no traces in the Armenian writers. The nobles generally took their names from their possessions. Of those here mentioned we shall afterwards have occasion to speak, and then we shall give some further account of each. Vartan and Vasag are the two principal personages in this history.

Page 22.—Note 37.

This empty bombast is a fair specimen of the rhetoric of the later times. (See the Preface.) Eliseus probably alludes to the apostacy of several Armenian princes.

Page 23.—Note 38.

This entirely agrees with the chronological accounts of the succession of the Sassanides: see Appendix. In the time of Shapuh II., about the middle of the fourth century, the Persian influence predominated in Armenia. The third book of the History of Moses of Khorene treats chiefly of the relations between Armenia and Persia under Shapuh II.

Page 23.—Note 39.

This highly interesting passage requires no very detailed elucidation. The worship of fire and water has been already mentioned, and occurs even in Herodotus, (i. 131 and 138.) Pliny speaks of a Magus who would not travel by water: *quoniam exspuere in maria, aliisque necessitatibus violare naturam eam fas non putant*. The Parsees, as is well known, exposed their

their dead on lofty hills to be torn by wild beasts; but first had their flesh eaten by dogs trained expressly for the purpose. This is what is called *Sag-did* (the dog sees), Avesta, ii. 582. In the Vendidad the species of these dogs are described (Avesta, i. 332. sq.) According to Strabo, this was also the custom with the ancient Backtrians and Sogdians, (*Kleuker Persica*, 58. 71.) *Krdigar* is probably a ceremony of purification. This word, as far as I am enabled to say (unless it be connected with *kirdn*, perspiration,) is traceable to no Armenian root. It appears to be an old Zend word; but I have no where found any thing relative to its signification. What the king means by the last it is difficult to conjecture. The Parsees themselves do not approach a woman during her terms. The king probably refers to the nunneries; for among the Parsees it is deemed the greatest crime not to be married. An old maid, who is herself to blame for this misfortune, remains after her death in hell until the final resurrection. (Avesta, ii. 557.)

Page 25.—Note 40.

In the Armenian text stands *Vartapied*, which signifies *teacher, doctor*. Here we are probably to understand *Herbeds*, the first class in the hierarchy of the Magi.

Page 26.—Note 41.

These names of tribes have, all but the last, been already explained. It is difficult to conjecture what is here meant by *Tasanians*. A canton in Duruperan was called *Tasnavork*, the *Tasnians*. This was perhaps a foreign tribe which had settled there. (Injj. l. c. p. 89. n. 4. Chamchean iii. 144. index). We need not wonder that Missions could be thus prepared with a knowledge of all the several tongues; for it is known that at the court of the Sassanides were men whose office and duty it was to know the languages of the vanquished tribes and provinces. Thus we learn from an Arabian author, who was the Arab that first wrote in Arabic under Chosro Parvis, in the divan of the Persian kings. (Sacy, Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions. v. 50. p. 440.)

Page 26.—Note 42.

The ancient Armenian names of the months may be found in Schröder, Villotte, and others: they seem to be merely variations of the Old Persian names. The first month began in August, and was called *Navasart*. The names of the months were used also to designate the days, and every day which had a name in common with its month (as the day *Navasart* in the month of *Navasart*—was celebrated by the Parsees as a great festival. (Avesta ii. 574.) In Ideler's Manual of Chronology, vol. ii. the whole of this custom is clearly explained.

Page 26.—Note 43.

Anquetil strives in vain to free the Parsees from the charge of incestuous marriages. The testimony of the ancients on this point is explicit; but we should observe that Elisæus expressly says that it was not permitted to ascend the couch of the mother, as asserted by Bardesanes, Diogenes Laertius, Agathias, and others. (Bardesanes on Destiny, c. 4. Kleuker Persica, 56. 120. 146.)

Page 27.—Note 44.

Even among the beasts and plants there was a division, as Plutarch observes (Kleuker Persica, s. 80), according to the good and the evil principle, the former being made by Ormusd. *Pantam* is probably a plant of Ormusd; and the ox-urine belongs, as is well known, to every purification among the Parsees. The bull is the creator of the world. (Avesta, ii. 543.)

Page 27.—Note 45.

It appears that the text is here erroneous. It is, on the contrary, as we shall presently see, meritorious to slay animals and worms.

Page 27.—Note 46.

So we read in Agathias (Hist. ii. p. 56. ed. Vulcan. 1694), that the Persians celebrated a festival against Arhmen, which they called the *destruction of evil*, and during which they caught all sorts of vermin and brought them to the Magi, in proof of their zeal for religion, &c. (Kleuker Persica, p. 148.)

Page 27.—Note 47.

Of the preservation of ashes, Strabo likewise speaks in his excellent account of the religion and customs of the Persians, at the end of the fifteenth book of his Geography. On the altar in the pyreum there was a quantity of ashes. (Strabo iii. 327. ed. Tauchn. Kleuker Persica, p. 54.)

NOTES TO CHAPTER III.

 Page 29.—Note 1.

THE fourth month was called *Dreh*, and corresponded with our November. *Ankes* is a place in the canton *Dsakhgodn*, in the province of Ararat. This is affirmed by Lasar Barbezi (p. 102.) It is probably the same place which Procopius (de bello Pers. ii. 25.) calls *Anglon*. (Injij. p. 415.)

 Page 23.—Note 2.

This hint concerning the diffusion of Christianity in India is of great interest. Shapuh II. reigned from 305 to 389. Cosmas, in the sixth century, was the first Greek who gave certain accounts of the state of Christianity in India. (Neander, General History of the Christian Church, ii. 1. 245.) The Armenians in India at the present day, and who according to the 'Asia' of de Barros, were discovered there by the Portuguese, emigrated at a much more recent period. On the interesting question "when did the Armenians go to India?" no light is thrown by Avdall's History of Armenia, Calcutta 1828. Avdall's work is a mere translation of the extract from Chamchcan, printed at Venice in 1811.

 Page 30.—Note 3.

The passage in Eunapius agrees with this: "All those," he says, referring to the Christians, "who wore dark clothes, and who publicly conducted themselves in an improper manner, were then in power." *Τυραννικὴν γὰρ εἶχεν ἐξουσίαν τό τε πᾶς ἄνθρωπος μέλαιναν φορῶν ἐσθῆτα καὶ δημοσίᾳ βουλόμενος ἀσχημονεῖν.* (Eunapii, vitæ Sophist. I. 45. ed. Boissonade.)

 Page 31.—Note 4.

Here the Sandik are mentioned as a distinct religious body, beside the Christians, Jews, and Magi. The followers of Mazdak cannot be meant here, though they were called by the same name (Mirkhond in Sacy, l. c. 362.), for Elisæus lived before this impostor. Still less does the word appear to be of Arabic derivation, as we read in Herbelot (Bibl. Orient. under the head *Zendik*.) If Sandik agrees with Send,—from which Send- or Zend-avesta is derived, is

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a difficult question: thus much however is certain, that the word is used by the Persians and Arabians to designate heretics and heresies of the most dissimilar character. (Herbelot, *Ayeen Akbery*, ii. 289. ed. London 1800. 8vo.)

Page 31.—Note 5.

Dajgasdan seems here to stand for the kingdom of Persia.

Page 31.—Note 6.

Hasarubed (χιλίαρχος) has been already explained: concerning *Terantarzabed* I have been unable to discover any thing. The word signifies, as we here see, some great court officer.

Page 33.—Note 7.

The very opposite of this stands in the original. I however read *ed*, he gave, for *ched*, he gave not. The negation has probably arisen from an error in copying or printing.

Page 34 —Note 8.

Those places here mentioned, which have not been fully spoken of in the foregoing notes, will now be briefly touched upon.

Karni is a very ancient place in the province of Sünik, which exists at the present day under the same name, about eight hours' journey from Etchmiazin. (Injij. l. c. 266. *Allgemeine Geographie: Asien*, vol. i. p. 254. 256.)

Ani is not the celebrated capital of Armenia, in the province of Ararad, but the fortress *Ani* in Little Armenia, which during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was called *Komakh*, under which name it is mentioned also by the Greeks. (Injij. l. o. p. 7. See also the Preface.)

Ardakers is a famous fortress in the canton of Arsharunik, in the province Ararad, and near to the Araxes. By the Greeks, as well as by Strabo, this place is called 'Αρταγῆραι. Ptolemæus calls it Artasigarta, as is unfoundedly questioned by Mannert (l. c. 174. Inj. l. c. 369.)

Ergainorthk is only known by this passage. (Injij. l. c. 519.) So are also *Arhni*, likewise written *Arkhnî*. (Inj. l. o. 510.) The same remark applies to three of the following fortresses. *Nisd*, which often occurs in the names of places, means *place* or *spot*. *Wohagan* or *Okhgan*, is situated in the canton Daron, in the province of Duroperan. (Inj. l. c. 107.) *Arphaneal* is unknown. *Van* is the famous fortress still standing on the *Lake of Van*. (Inj. l. c. 179.) *Kaboid* is situated not far from Ardakers. (Inj. l. c. 398.) *Vorodn* lies in the canton *Pakhk*, in the province of Sünik. (Injij. l. c. 286.) *Vasagashad* is mentioned only in this passage. (Injij. l. c. 537.)

Page 35.—Note 9.

This is the province Aderbidjan, called by the ancients Atropatia or Atropatene, the original country of the Medes, called in Armenian Mark. Atropatene bordered on the eleventh Armenian province, *Paidarkaran*, which was on this account by the Armenian authors not unfrequently called the province on the borders of the Medes, or the province on the borders of Aderbadakan. Hither, as we read further on, Nershabuh was sent with the first Armenian force, as a garrison. (Injj. l. c. 318. Wahl Western Asia p. 535.)

Page 35.—Note 10.

This very sacred fire is in Armenian called *Veham*: it is only once mentioned by Elisæus. Concerning the preparation and sacredness of the fire *Behram*, see Avesta ii. 643. Index.

Page 36.—Note 11.

The Knunians, as also the Ardsrunians, are said to have descended from Sanherib. The name was derived from the office filled by the founder of the race, who was cup-bearer to king Vacharshag; wine, or any kind of drink, having in Armenia the general name *kini*. Yet this does not wholly agree with the Grammar. (Moses of Khorene ii. 6. p. 165. according to the San Lazaro edition. Chamch. i. 213.) Two Armenian cantons, the one to the south-east of the mountain *Sim*, a continuation of the Taurus (Injj. l. c. 70.), and the other in the province Vasburagan, (Chamch. iii. 142. Index) bear their names.

Page 36.—Note 12.

Rhumpos was probably the name of the father of Nershapuh: he was descended from the house of the Ardsrunians, as we have seen above. He was a friend of Vartan. (Elisæus p. 71, 122, 126, 173, 204, 343, of the Armenian text.)

Page 36.—Note 13.

Though the plural occurs here, yet only one can be understood; namely, *Anak*, the murderer of Khosro, as is fully explained in the history of St. Gregory, by Agathangelos, (p. 6. 529). This whole epistle, and all that follows, says much for the historical accuracy of Agathangelos. (History of St. Gregory. See also my *Mémoire sur David*, p. 5.)

Page 36.

Page 36.—Note 14.

The entire passage here in parentheses is, without doubt, a subsequent interpolation of some Armenian attached to the church of Rome. Gregory the Enlightener, the apostle of Armenia, was instructed in the Christian faith at Cæsarea in Cappadocia. (Agathangelos, p. 10).

Page 36.—Note 15.

In the original, for senate, stands the Greek word *σύναιτος*, which is here written Sinkchidos, according to the Itacism, and altered according to the genius of the Armenian language.

Page 37.—Note 16.

The day of the elevation of Marcianus to the imperial dignity cannot be precisely given. (Tillemont *Hist. des Empereurs*, vi. notes, p. 17, Bruxelles edition, 1740). Marcianus was too much occupied with preparations for the Synod of Chalcedon, to begin a war with Persia for the sake of the Armenians. Indeed he does not appear in the Armenian writers, so pious and Christian-like as in the Occidental histories: both, however, agree as to his orthodoxy.

Page 37.—Note 17.

The Patrician Anatolius has already been mentioned. *Elpharios*, or *Eularios*, is probably a corruption of *Euphemios*, who was *Magister Officiorum* under Marcianus, (Tillemont, l. c. 122). Euphemios accompanied the Emperor to the Synod of Chalcedon. (Tillemont, 123.)

Page 37.—Note 18.

The constitution of the Armenian kingdom, as well as that of the ancient Parthians, resembled, in many respects, that of most of the states of Europe in the early part of the middle ages. In case of war, the freemen assembled round their chiefs, who in Armenia were princes by inheritance.

Page 37.—Note 19.

It would lead us too far, were enquiries instituted into all these Armenian families separately. The greater part of them have been already noticed. *Urds* is a place mentioned also by Lasar Barbezi: he calls the prince of Urds *Nerseh*. (Injj. l. c. 53.)

Page 38.

Page 38.—Note 20.

Thither proceeded the force under Nershabuh. *Her* and *Saravant*, or *Saruant*, are two cantons of the province *Parsgahaik*, or *Persarmenia*, on the borders of Aderbidshan. *Saravant* is called by Pliny *Soroanta*. (Injij. l. c. p. 154. sqq.)

Page 38.—Note 21.

The *Kur*, according to Moses of Khorene, forms the boundary between Armenia and Albania. *Khakhakh* lay in the province *Udi*, on the right side of the *Kur*, and accordingly belonged to Armenia. How could this place, which is also mentioned by Agathangelos, have been the *winter* residence of the king? In all probability it should be "*Armenian*." Haiotz stands in our passage of Elisæus also according to the quotation of Injijean, (l. c. 344) The place was afterwards called *Kharapakh*, and is now named *Karabakh*.

Page 39.—Note 22.

A river in the country of the Liphnians.

Page 39.—Note 23.

The name of this tribe occurs again further on. See Note 3 to the Seventh Chapter.

Page 39.—Note 24.

Shahasdan, as it is called in the Armenian text, is a royal residence: literally translated, the word signifies the *abode* or the *house of the king*. In the present instance Nüşabuh is probably meant. This place is frequently so called by Lasar. (p. 148).

Page 42.—Note 25.

It is uncertain what Elisæus here means by "East." Did Yasgerd wage war in the East and West at once? This is very likely from the speech of the king, which immediately follows.

Page 44.—Note 26.

Phaidaragan is an ancient Armenian city, situated in the province of the same name. It was situated towards Albania, on the borders between Persia and Armenia. Some Armenian authors erroneously contend that this ancient city is the modern Tiflis. Injijean has treated at length of the origin of this mistake (l. c. 327). See also, *Allgemeine Geographie, Armenien*, 276.

NOTES TO CHAPTER IV.

 Page 46.—Note 1.

Vosgan, or *Osgan*, is an old Persian word, originally signifying a *door-post*. By this word, according to the Oriental usage, is designated especially the first door in the kingdom, *the Court*; as in the present day the Turkish Government is called *the Sublime Porte*. The signification of the word subsequently became generalized, and everything relative to the Government and to the Royal Court was called *Vosgan*, or *Osgan*, as the residences, guards, &c. Thus the word means the same with *royal*. It was employed by flatterers in addressing families merely noble; and even the abodes of bishops were, in later times, so called. (Injj. l. c. 458.) All the other cantons, except *Age*, *Ageaik*, or *Ageasik*, have been already mentioned. This latter lay in the province Vasburagan, and generally occurs in connection with another canton called Ardas, so that they cannot be distinguished one from the other. (Injj. l. c. 221). The origin and names of the princely houses of Armenia are sometimes traced to the sons and grandsons of their fabulous forefather, Haig; and at others, historical proofs are adduced, to shew that these families owe their origin to foreign emigration. These are the most celebrated. The name of the Prince very frequently, as was the case with that of Baron in Europe, during the middle ages, was the same with that of the province or canton over which he, with certain restrictions, had the right of proprietorship. It is, therefore, uncertain, as Moses of Khorene observes, whether they took their names from the cantons, or whether they gave their names to them; though the first is by far more probable.

 Page 47.—Note 2.

Of this branch of the Mamigonians, which lived under the dominion of the Byzantine emperor, nothing is said, as far as I have been able to ascertain, by either the Byzantine or Armenian historians.

 Page 48.—Note 3.

Dmorigk and Gortigk are, according to Moses (ii. 50), but different names for the same canton in the sixth province, Gordshek; Dmorigk being merely the more ancient name.

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Yet both names occurring together, as they here do in Elisæus, must be taken to signify two distinct cantons. Dmorigk, as Elisæus himself says (p. 221, 223 of the Armenian text), was an impregnable fortresses, (Injij. l. o. p. 146). The tenth Armenian province, Arzakh, was then, according to the testimony of Moses, in the hands of the Albanians. (Injij. l. c. p. 301). The Chaldæans, here mentioned, lived to the west of the fourteenth Armenian province, Daik, and northward from Upper Armenia. They are the Chalybes and Armeno-Chalybes of the ancients. A great part of the territory known under the name of Chaldæa, as late as the tenth century, now belongs to the Pashalik of Trapezunt and to Lesgistan, (Injij. Modern Armenia, p. 378. St. Martin, Mém. i. 327). In the geographical work bearing the name of Moses of Khorene, the several tribes of Chaldæa are enumerated. (St. Martin, l. c. ii. 356.)

Page 47.—Note 4.

These are names of the several tribes of Huns of whom we have spoken above. They, for the most part, occur in the Geography in St. Martin's work. (ii. 356.) In the Armenian, the *circumlativus* being employed, the sense is literally as follows: "Vasag led the army round these countries:" that is, in order to encompass them, and prevent their breaking forth to the assistance of the Armenians.

NOTES TO THE FIFTH CHAPTER.

 Page 50.—Note 1.

This means, "in the Persian part of Armenia."

 Page 50.—Note 2.

The chronicler Samuel states erroneously that Vartan was Margrave of Armenia. We know from Moses (iii. 64) that the first Margrave was Vehmihhrshapuh, who filled this office from 428 to 442, and was succeeded by Vasag. This Margrave governed from 442 to 452, and after him came Adromisd, as we see from several passages in Elisæus and Lasar. But Vartan, the historian, was right, as we see from this passage of Elisæus, in saying that the Armenian princes raised Vartan the Mamigonian to the kingly dignity. (Chamch. Hist. of Arm. ii. 458.)

 Page 51.—Note 3.

Most of these princes have already been mentioned, and others are too unimportant to call for detailed enquiries concerning them. The *Balunians*, *Bahlunians*, or *Pahlunians*, were Arsacides, and took their name from the original and favourite residence of Arshag, the founder of the Parthian dynasty. *Bahl* or *Pahl*, the Balk of some other oriental writers (see the Oriental Geography, p. 224), and the *Baktra* of the Greeks and Romans, is, according to the combined testimony of all the Armenian authors, the original country of the Parthians. (Moses, ii. 2. 68. p. 153, 304; Geography in St. Martin, ii. 372. 438.) *Balk* was also the residence of Gustasp and Lohrasp. (Avesta, ii. 282.) *Bahl*, in all likelihood, corresponds to the Sanskrit *Bala*, *Balavan*, which signifies *strong*, with which also agrees the *Pehlvi*, or language of the Arsacides. In this, as in other enquiries, Anquetil evinces a want of critical skill. (Mém. de l'Académie des Inscript. 31. p. 408.) In Agathangelos's History of Saint Gregory, an Arsacide is led into an act of shameful treachery, by a promise of Artashir to give him the paternal territory of *Bahla*. This word was also employed by the Parthians, in their language, *i. e.* the Pehlvi, to designate paradise; and thus, wherever the Parthians have had dominion, we meet

on

on all hands with names of cities and provinces derived from Bahla. (Injij. l. c. 46. 212.) According to an account given by Ibn Khordadbeh, in the tenth century of our era, Pehlvi was the ancient literary language; which, however, was no longer, in his time, understood in ordinary life. (Uylenbroek *Iracæ Persicæ descriptio*, p. 70.) By "Royal retainers," we are probably to understand, the attendants of the former royal house: from this house there were, as we have seen, descendants in Armenia. Procop. Pers. ii. (vol. i. 39) makes an Armenian embassy address Chosro as follows: εἰςὶ μὲν ἡμῶν πολλοὶ Ἀρσακίδαι.

Page 51.—Note 4.

The plain in the Canton *Artass*, or *Artassage* (see above), is further on described by Elisæus at length. It was situated near the borough of Avarair, on the banks of the *Dekhmud*. Lasar calls the plain by the name of this river, and it is also called 'the plain of Avarair.' (Injij. l. c. 205.) What is now the name of the river we can hardly say; for the Araxes, into which the *Dekhmud* falls, has numerous tributary streams. They are enumerated in Injijean's *Modern Armenia*, p. 25. St. Martin supposes it to have been the *Akchai*. (Mém. i. 41.)

Page 52.—Note 5.

The word *heathen* is in Armenian *Hethanos*, and is merely a corruption of the Greek ἑθνικός; but they also use *Mehran* in this sense, a word which originally, in the fire-worship of Zoroaster, has a very good signification. Mehran probably is connected with *Meher*, the name of the genius of the sun (*Mithra*), and consequently indicates all that is connected with this worship. Among the Parsees, as among the ancient Armenians, the seventh month was sacred to the sun, and was, therefore, called Mehegan. (Anquetil, *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscr.* vol. 3. s. 421.)

Page 53.—Note 6.

Thus the Armenian writers call the country which the ancients name Persarmenia, in the confined sense of the word; for in proportion as the Persians were possessed of a larger or smaller portion of Armenia, this country had a greater or less extension. (Injij. l. c. p. 150.) Elisæus is here somewhat obscure. The reader might suppose that the battle was fought in this place, whereas it was fought in the Canton Artass, in the province Vasburagan. Lasar is on this subject much more explicit (p. 118.) See also Note 4 to this chapter.

NOTES TO THE SIXTH CHAPTER.

Page 55.—Note 1.

The *Abarhaig* occur only in this passage of Elisæus, and are utterly unknown to me. I imagine that they are the *Abahunik*, who are said to be of the same origin with the Armenians. The Abahunik are often mentioned in Moses of Khorene, (pp. 171. 219. 444. 533. of the edition quoted in this work.) The Gadjians dwelt on the borders of Persia. (Chamchean, i. 119; ii. 165.) Of the last of the tribes mentioned in this passage I know nothing.

Page 55.—Note 2.

This brother of Vartan is mentioned by Elisæus in another passage, p. 343 of the Armenian text; as also by other authors. See Chamchean, Index.

Page 57.—Note 3.

In these 287 the nine princes are not included; 287, 9, and 740, together, make 1036. I here follow the Codex, of which the reading is given at p. 387. So also reads Chamchean. (ii. 463.) According to Lasar, not all of these fell in the battle in question, but this is merely the number of all who fell in the several engagements. An opinion in which Chamchean concurs. (ii. 464.) The computation on the day of the battle is also found in Chamchean (ii. 265.) These are indeed few, if we consider that the army, according to Elisæus, was 66,000 strong; which estimate, however, appears too high.

NOTES TO THE SEVENTH CHAPTER.

Page 59.—Note 1.

Here is manifestly a chasm. We have no account of the surrender of the besieged in consequence of scarcity of provisions. I think that some other gaps of this kind are discoverable in *Elisæus* which are probably mutilations of later copyists. It is not likely that they are attributable to the author himself, whose work on the whole is very carefully prepared.

Page 61.—Note 2.

This impregnable fortress has been already mentioned; it lay in the province of Ararat, in the Canton Arsharunik, or the valley of the Araxes. This is said by *Elisæus* himself; for, by the words “the centre of the land,” the ancient Armenian writers understand the province of Ararat. (*Injijean*, *Ancient Armenia*, 377. 398.)

Page 62.—Note 3.

Of this territory, *Chaldæa* or *Chaldia*, we have already spoken. *Stephen of Byzantium* erroneously asserts that it belonged to Armenia. *Χαλδία χώρα τῆς Ἀρμενίας*. (*Steph. s. v. Geogr. min. i. 75. ed. Hudson.*) The territory at divers periods was under the Armenian government, but never belonged to the country of Armenia.

Page 63.—Note 4.

This province is nowhere else spoken of.

Page 64.—Note 5.

The province *Vasburagan* was an inheritance of the *Ardsrunians*, and was therefore called simply “the land, the dominion of the *Ardsrunians*.” The history of this family is especially given by one of the greatest among the Armenian historians, *Thomas Ardsruni*, of the ninth century. (*Injij. Ancient Armenia*, 156.)

Page 65.—Note 6.

Tillemont (vi. 45) gives the history of this celebrated eunuch and favourite of Theodosius II. At one period the power of Antiochus was almost unlimited, and to this period the letters of Vasag in all probability belong.

Page 65.—Note 7.

A famous city destroyed by Shapuh II.: it was situated in the canton Pakrevant, in the province of Ararat. The destruction of this city is described by Stephen of Byzantium, (Bouzant). Five thousand Armenian and eight thousand Jewish families were taken prisoners. In the time of Elisæus it was a place of no importance. (Injij. Ancient Arm. 410.)

Page 66.—Note 8.

The country of the *Pakhasagan* is to the north-east of the Armenian province *Udi*. The inhabitants were said to be descended from Haig. (Chamch. i. 508.) In the time of Moses of Khorene, this country did not belong to the Huns. (see p. 519.) It is only once mentioned by him; but thrice by Elisæus, p. 131 and 237 of the Armenian text.

Page 66.—Note 9.

Sahag answered; as, according to the express testimony of Lasar, he alone understood Persian.

Page 67.—Note 10.

This was the simple tiara which was worn by the lieutenants, and was put on awry. The tiaras are known to have been different, according to the rank of the persons who wore them.

A P P E N D I X.

COMPARATIVE CHRONOLOGY OF THE SASSANIDES.

No people could be less calculated to trace the history, and impartially to appreciate the spirit of foreign nations, than the Greeks, through their being so exclusively occupied with themselves and their own cultivation. They compiled the history of other nations according to their own views; they misspelt or translated the names of nations or of individuals, so that frequently, as in the case of the ancient Asiatic nations, it is impossible to reconcile the Greek accounts with those of the historians of other countries. How have Procopius and Agathias confounded the history of the Sassanides, who were situated so near to them! It would appear then, that the most learned men have hitherto vainly employed their acuteness in attempting to combine historical accounts obtained from sources so contradictory. It is, however, surprising that even the Armenian historians, who for the greater part relate only the contemporaneous circumstances of their rulers, should differ from each other in the duration of the reigns of several among the Sassanide princes. A difference of one, or even of two years, might be easily accounted for, the one historian counting the years of accession and demise, and the other not. But in the case of testimonies throughout contradictory, one only can be true, and there can be no question of reconciling the contradiction. The information which we possess concerning the Sassanides is partly unsatisfactory and partly imperfect, like the prize dissertation of Richter, which was printed at Leipzig in 1804. For the present we will, without attempting to combine them, give the several accounts of the reigns of the princes of the house of Sassan. These are the accounts of the Armenian, Greek, and Persian historians.

The Armenian historians begin the dynasty of Sassan, as is generally done, with the year 226 after the birth of Christ. (Ideler, *Manual of Chronology*, ii. 558.) Evodius Assemani attempts with much learning to shew (*Martyr. Orient. I. lxiii*), that the accession of the Parthians, whose dynasty lasted four hundred and seventy-six years, took place in the year 224 after the birth of Christ. (See also St. Croix, *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscrit.* 50. p. 77.)

ARTASHIR (the Lion) BABEGAN,

(i. e. of the family of Babec, who was himself styled king.—Sacy, *Mém. de l'Institut*, ii. 226. Visconti *Iconographie*, iii. 201 éd. de Milan 1826, Table viii. No. 15) was, say the Armenian writers, the son of Sassan, and reigned according to Moses of Khorene thirty eight years

years; to Asolnik, forty years; to the priest Samuel, forty-six or forty-seven years; and to Agathias and other Greek chroniclers, fifteen years wanting two months. According to Mirkhond he reigned twelve years after the death of Artewan, and fourteen years prior to that event: thus in all twenty-six years. Eutyches, who followed the same authorities with Mirkhond, as is manifest from the frequently even verbal coincidence of their narrations, gives to the founder of the Sassanide dynasty a reign of fourteen years and six months. Herewith the ancient Ravaet of the Persians corresponds; according to which (*Zendavesta*, *Notice des MSS.* 35, ii. 421), Artashir reigned fourteen years and six months.

SHAPUH I.,

(the son of the Shah, or ruler) reigned according to Moses forty-seven years; to Asolnik fifty-three; to Samuel forty-six; to Agathias, Syncellus, and other Greek chronologists, thirty-one; to Mirkhond also thirty-one; to Eutyches thirty years and one month; to the Ravaet thirty years and fifteen days.

The four kings immediately succeeding Shapuh I. are, to the best of my knowledge, unmentioned in the Armenian historians hitherto known.

VORMIST I.,

(the great father) reigned, according to Agathias, one year and ten days; to Mirkhond and Eutyches, the same; and to the Ravaet, two years.

VARRAN, or BEHRAM I.,

(the name of a sacred fire), according to Agathias and Syncellus reigned three years; to Mirkhond, three years and three months; and to Eutyches and the Ravaet, the same.

VARRAN II.,

according to Agathias, Syncellus, and Theophanes, seventeen years; to Eutyches, Mirkhond, and the Ravaet, the same.

VARRAN III.,

Sakanshah (that is, Lord of Sistan or Sedjestan, he having governed this province during the life of his father) reigned, according to Agathias, four months; to Syncellus and Theophanes, one year; and to others, three years. Ibn Ahir (in Mirkhond), gives him four years; other historians nine; and according to the *Shahnameh* he reigned only four months, which is said also by Eutyches. According to the Ravaet he reigned forty years and four months.

NERSEH,

according to Moses and Samuel, nine; to Asolnik, thirteen; to Agathias, seven years and five months; to Syncellus, six years; to Theophanes, eight years; to Mirkhond and Eutyches, nine years; to the Ravaet, seven years; and to others, seventeen years.

VORMIST II.,

according to Moses, Asolnik, and Samuel, three years; to Agathias, seven years and five months; to Syncellus and Theophanes, six years; Massudi, in Mirkhond, agrees with Agathias: the Ravaet and Eutyches say seven years and five months.

SHAPUH II.,

according to Moses, Agathias, Syncellus, and Theophanes, seventy years; to Asolnik, fifty-eight years; to Samuel, seventy-three years; to Mirkhond, the Ravaet, and Eutyches, seventy-two; which last is the term given in other Arabian, Persian, and Syrian historians.

ARDASHIR II.,

according to Moses, Mirkhond, Eutyches, and the Ravaet, four years; to Samuel, Agathias, Syncellus, and Theophanes, three.

SHAPUH III.,

according to all historians, five years, excepting Eutyches, who has five years and four months.

VARRAM IV.

(surnamed Kerman or Kermanshah, from the province Kerman, which he governed during the life of his father), reigned, according to Goriun, six years; to Moses and Samuel, ten; to Asolnik, Agathias, Syncellus, Theophanes, and Eutyches, eleven.

YASGERD I.

(from *Yeds*, God, and *gert*, made; *the begotten of God*), according to Goriun, Agathias, Syncellus, Theophanes, and Eutyches, twenty-one years; the last adds five months. The Ravaet says, twenty-one years five months and eighteen days; Moses and Samuel, eleven years; Asolnik, one; Mirkhond, twenty-five years and five months.

VARRAM V.,

according to Moses and Goriun, twenty-one years; to Asolnik, twelve; to Agathias, Syncellus, and Theophanes, twenty; to Bar Hebræus, twenty-two; to some Arabian historians, twenty-four; to the Ravaet, twenty-three; and to Eutyches, eighteen years and eleven months.

YASGERD II.,

according to Elisæus and Lasar, eighteen years and some months; to Asolnik, nineteen; to Agathias, Syncellus, and Theophanes, seventeen years and some months; to Mirkhond, eighteen; to the Ravaet, fourteen years and fourteen or eighteen days; and to Eutyches, twenty-one years.

VORMISTAD AND PEROSS

contended for the government of the kingdom about two years, according to Elisæus and Lasar; to others, four, five, or six years. Tabari, in Mirkhond, makes Vormistad succeed Yasgerd II., and gives him a reign of one year.

PEROSS,

according to Lasar and Asolnik, about twenty-five years; to Agathias, Syncellus, and Theophanes twenty-four; to Mirkhond, twenty-one, or twenty-six; to the Ravaet, seventeen; and to Eutyches, twenty-seven years.

S

VAKHARSH,

according to Asolnik, the Ravaet, and Eutyches, four years ; to Samuel, Agathias, Syncellus, and Theophanes, three years.

KAVAD,

according to Asolnik, Agathias, Syncellus, and Theophanes, eleven years ; and to Samuel, seven.

DJAMASB,

according to Samuel, two years ; to Agathias, Syncellus, and Theophanes, four.

KAVAD—(for the second time.)

according to Samuel, seventeen years ; to Agathias, Syncellus, and Theophanes, thirty. Asolnik gives him in all a reign of forty-one years ; as does the Ravaet ; Eutyches and Mirkhond say forty-three.

KHOSRO NUSHIRVAN,

according to Asolnik and Samuel, forty-seven ; to Vartan, forty-eight ; to Agathias, Syncellus, and Theophanes, forty-eight ; to Mirkhond and the Ravaet, the same ; and to Eutyches, forty-seven years and six months.

VORMIST III.,

according to Asolnik, Samuel, Mirkhond, and the Ravaet, twelve years ; to Syncellus and Theophanes, fifteen years ; and to other chroniclers, eleven or twelve years.

KHOSRO APRUSS,

according to Asolnik, Samuel, Mirkhond, and the Ravaet, thirty-eight ; to Syncellus, Theophanes, and Eutyches, thirty-nine years.

KAVAD II.,

according to Asolnik, six months ; to Samuel and Theophanes, one ; and to all other authorities, eight months.

ARDASHIR,

according to Asolnik and Samuel, two years ; to Syncellus and Theophanes, seven months ; and to others, five or eighteen months. We may say with Mirkhond, *God knows best how it really is !*

Now begins a great confusion in the line of the Sassanides, and even without the irruption of the fanatic Arabs, their dynasty must have fallen. We find rulers who could only maintain themselves for months or even days in the dominion of which they had forcibly possessed themselves ; and in addition to this, their power, while it lasted, extended only over a small portion of the original kingdom. The last of the Sassanides was

YASGERD III.,

to whom different historians give a reign of two, of eleven, twelve, and fourteen years: the Ravaet and Eutyches say twenty. With the first year of his reign begins the new era of the Parsees. Yasgerd vainly sought on every side, even from the Chinese, for assistance against the Arabs. In the History of the Chinese dynasty, Thang (626—906), a detailed description is, on this occasion, given of the kingdom *Posu* or Persia (Visdelou, Sup. to Herbelot, iv. 429.) The descendants of Artashir fled to China, where they were honourably received, and held offices in Tartary, which was even then subject to China.

According to the Ravaet, there were twenty-seven Sassanide kings, who together reigned four hundred and fifty-five years, three months, and twenty-one days. Other authorities say only four hundred, four hundred and five, four hundred and twelve, four hundred and fifteen, or four hundred and twenty years. See the computations in Assemani's *Bibl. Orient.* iii. vol. 2; and Chamchean, i. 608.

THE END.

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